

A
L E T T E R
F R O M
General Ludlow
T O
Dr. Hollingworth,

Their Majesties Chaplain AT St. Dunstons-Aldgate.

Defending his former Letter to Sir E. S. which compared the Tyranny of the first Four Years of King Charles the Martyr, with the Tyranny of the Four Years of the late Abdicated King.

And vindicating the Parliament which began in *Novemb. 1640.*

Occasioned by the Lies and Scandals of many bad Men of this Age.

Veritas superget Victria.

I acknowledge it were better if we could have *Jeh's* Will, That this Day should perish, that Darkness and the Shadow of Death should cover us, than it should see the dawning of the Day, nor should the Light shine upon it: It were better so strike is out of our Calendar, and to make our *January* decrease at the 29th, and add these remaining Days to *February*. Dr. Barret, *Suppl. of Solitary*, his Sermon at St. Laurence Church, London, *January 30, 1660.*

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LETTER
FROM
General Ludlow
TO
Dr. Hollingsworth

the late Abdicated King.
the Martyr, with the Tyranny of the Four Years of
red the Tyranny of the last Four Years of King Charles
Defending his former Letter to Sir A. S. which com-
Their Majesties Chaplain AT St. Bartholomew's.

Occasioned by the lies and scandals of many bad men of this Age

[illegible]

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**WORTH, D. D. THEIR MAJESTIES CHAPLAIN, at
St. Botolph-Aldgate. The other called, A VINDICATION of
their Majesties Wisdom, in the late nomination of some Re-
verend Persons to the vacant Arch-Bishopricks and Bishopricks,
OCCASIONED by the scandalous Reflections of unreasonable
Men, By A MINISTER of London.**

* Epistle De-
dicatory to
the Defence.

This Author having sought these OCCASIONS to be trouble-
some, and declaring a doughty Resolution that he will be further so,
rather than let the Leeches of his Scribbling and the Pain of
his Reasoning, sit in that such an arrogant Locust, who fears
himself in * a Junctio with their Majesties, to consult wisely how to
preserve them from a People who mean them no Harm,
should be a little annoyed upon; which said I understood, after
I found that Persons of better Ability, would not trouble themselves
with such contemptible Complements.

I had prepared, and did purpose to have sent with this, some
Remarks upon the pretended Vindication of their Majesties
Wisdom; but finding that my Notes upon the Doctor's Defence
of King Charles the First, are swell'd beyond the Bulk which I
intended, I have laid aside these Remarks, till I shall have occasion to
write again to the same effect, I have therefore to
MAM-YO
When I came to Sir E. S. who since twelve Years, I only dis-
miss'd of the King's first Four Years; and did intend, if ever
I wrote further upon this Subject, to have proceeded regularly with
the succeeding Years of his Tyranny; but having engaged myself
to follow the Doctor in his Reasonings, I could not at present pursue
my Intention, but must defer it to some other time, when I shall
have more leisure to make this my business to you, my honoured
Countrymen. I will tell the Liberty to instruct you in three things;
which are omitted in my Letter to the Doctor. As first, I page 3.
That great Numbers call this King a Tyrant and a PARIST
and though he so strenuously asserted and pleaded the Prote-
stant Cause, as is expressed by THE CHURCH OF ENGL-
LAND, I have made THEIR PARTY.

Now, that he highly favoured POPERY, is most evident;
and so what I have already offered to convince the Truth of that
Charge, I do add these Testimonies. I have not now leisure to
have told the Aldgate Chaplain, that this King, by a Letter
to the Pope, saluted Antichrist with the Title of Most holy Father.
That Letter from the beginning to the end favours of Popery. For,
1. He.

2^d. This protest shewing that nothing could affect them so much as **DISFAVOURANCE** with a Prince that had the same apprehensions as **THE TRUE RELIGION** with himself. **Disgrace the KING of SPAIN** as **UNDESIRABLE** **WAGES** **STANT** this shew for boldness without of himself this

2. He calls Popery **THE CATHOLICK, APOSTOLICK, Roman RELIGION**, all other **NOVELTY** and **FACTION**.

3. He sheweth he did not esteem it a Matter of greater Honour, to be defended from great Princes, than to imitate them in the Zeal of their Piety, who had often exposed their **ESTATE** and **LIVES** for **THE EXALTATION OF THE HOLY CROSS**.

4. He solemnly engaged to the Pope, to spare nothing in the World, and to suffer all manner of Discommodities, even to **THE HAZARDING OF ESTATE AND LIFE**, for to single a thing so pleasing to God, as **UNITY WITH ROME**.

Behold what a good Sign of **PROTESTANTISM** here hangs at the King's Door. Moreover, when the Pope's Nuncio delivered a Letter to him from the Pope, wherein **PROTESTANTS** are called **ADVERSARIES OF FAITH**, and being requested to return the Possession of that word unto him, the **PRINCE OF THE APOSTLES** in answer thereto said, **I KISS HIS HOLINESS FEET** for the Favour and Honour he doth me; so much the more esteemed, by how much the less deserved of me. **HITHERTO**. And **HIS HOLINESS SHALL SEE WHAT I DO HEREAFTER**. So that his Holiness shall not repent him of what he hath done.

He was as good as his word, for passed to the Pope, as all the **Worshipful** side saw. The day next before **IRISH REBELLION** broke out, the 23^d of October, 1601, the Lords and Commons, who complained that it was framed and cherished in England, could not obtain a Proclamation to declare those bloody Malignants Traitors, till January ensuing; and then the following **Warrant** went to the King's Printer from his Secretary of State.

It is his Majesty's Pleasure, that you forthwith print in a very good Paper, and send unto me for his Majesty's Service, forty Copies of the Proclamation inclosed; leaving convenient space for his Majesty to sign above, and to affix the

"the Privy Seal underneath And HIS MAJESTY'S
 "EXPRESS COMMAND IS, THAT YOU PRINT NOT
 "ABOVE THE SAID NUMBER OF FORTY COPIES
 "his Pleasure be further signified; for which this shall
 "be a warrant. THE CATHOLIC ROMAN RELIGION, all other NOVELLY AND
 "

1960, January 2, 1961

which, January 9, 1848.
 See how this special case is stated, that the only fault
 come to the knowledge of this Proclamation, which was so
 more obnoxious, by the late coming of Protestants against the
 Scots, who were not very numerous, and who were
 and those Proclamations were all dispersed, and all
 diligence throughout the whole Kingdom, and ordered to be read
 in all Churches, accompanied with Public Prayers and Ex-
 citations. But the rebellion is not to be under any more
 during the Irish Rebel, is not to be under any more
 they called themselves THE QUEEN'S ARMY, and declared
 that they were to maintain the KING'S PRE-ROGATIVE
 and the QUEEN'S RELIGION against the PARLIAMENT,
 and he had no room, yielded to issue this Proclamation, which
 oblige the Queen's Rebel, and give them title to increase
 and strengthen themselves in the KING'S CHURCH, from the Par-
 liament, and began domestic disturbances. DO I TAHW 32

A LETTER from General LUDLOW,
to Dr. HOLLINGWORTH, their Maje-
sties Chaplain, &c.

Mine to Sir E. S. (*most Excellent Sir*) bore date upon your last MADDING DAY: Another being now come, I esteem my self obliged to justify what I asserted in my last Year's Letter: To the end that I may keep my Country-men, and in particular those of your Coat, Right in their Senses; and inculcate into the Men of this Generation, a due abhorrence of Tyranny, and a just Veneration for English Parliaments. Having come to this Resolution, and that upon the reading your *Journal of a Book*, which you stile, *A Defense of King Charles the First, (occasioned by the Lies and Scandals of many bad Men of this Age)* which came to me as a New-Year's Gift, from an endeared Friend in London; I suppose you will readily allow me to pretend to a title to an Acquaintance and Correspondence with you: For though in the conclusion of my last to Sir E. S. *I gave a Challenge to DOCTOR P.* (who occasion'd that) *to contest me of Falshood in any one Particular there charged upon his incomparable Prince;* yet I have not had one Word, either from him or Sir E. S. Therefore, in good Manners, I dismiss them from further trouble, as I might have done my self, had you not fallen foul upon me: But seeing you must be scribbling, and have taken up the Cudgels, we must come to A TRIAL OF SKILL.

To begin;

You appear very warm at first, and therefore not so civil as a Man might hope you would be found, who profess so much Can-

B

dour

*The I neither have, nor do think that I ever can be convicted of one Falshood in my former Letter, (or in this which I am writing) yet I will confess one Error committed this time twelve-month: 'twas this, I following a very faithful Historian, whose Printer, by an unhappy omission of one Letter, ran him and me by consequence into a great mistake; and I, relying upon that Print, said, That the noble Lord *Corsway* had avowed in Parliament, that he *avow'd* Popery; whereas his words in truth were, that he *cow'd* hate it.

four and Temper, as you sometimes do. You say, *'Tis A LEWD PAMPHLET, which goes under the Name of LUD-LOW.* Why *Lewd, dear Sir?* 'Tis a received Opinion amongst your Acquaintance at *Bilingsgate*, that to call a Woman, *Whore, and say she will prove her so,* will bear an Action, whether or not: I shall not therefore prosecute you for that, because 'tis only your say-so; you neither undertake nor offer one word to prove it: And indeed, should I implead you upon it, I perceive you have express'd your self with that Caution, that I should be Non-suited; For you add, that *it goes under the Name of Lud-low; by consequence it may not be his.* Why thus unmerciful Doctor? You will not allow me to be Author of my own Book or Letter; and yet you declare it a barbarous Act in a certain *Essex Doctor*, (the Name I understand is *Walker*) and in *William and Mary* will, I doubt not, find a room in future Annals and Records, (as your own delicate Expression) *when yours will be forgotten.* I say, you allow him not to deny that your *Atopsy* was the Author of *Essex Ballads*.

Page 2, 3.

James, Son, in the next place, with a taste of your *heating Speech.* You treat me, and those who believe the Truth, that you are no way able to gain-say, in a highly obliging and most endearing manner, *And break a fallacious Crew, &c.* We are, say you: I may not now betray my own Innocence so far, as to enter any thing of this to pass upon me without a Vindication. I have asserted, that your *SALANT* was a *NOTORIOUS TRAITOR*, and for ought you tell me to the contrary, very fairly proved it, and that by abundance of Instances. Am I Unjust therein? Why then do not you refute me? Am I in the Right? Why then will you set your self to out-face the Truth? That you do so, I shall demonstrate, after I have minded you, out of my former Letter, what things you are either to *selfish or unjust* (for you must know, that Railing, no more than Persecution, can ever make a Convert) when you scribble again, if you intend to convince any Man of an Error, who believes that *King Charles the First* was a *Tyrant*: And I must tell you, that I am induced to make the Repetition which ensues, because I cannot perceive, by the reading your Tract, that you have look'd beyond my *Thle Page*; for there you find the only thing you mention of mine, and that with Indignation; *THE VILE R. O. O. D.*, you say, call this Day, *THE MADDING-DAY.*

' *This King's CHAPLAINS endeavoured to reconcile England to Rome, and scolded at Preaching, Bibles, and all sort of Religion.*
 ' *MOUNTAGUE, one of his Chaplains, being prosecuted in Parliament for Crimes of this nature, sent Marry was incensed thereat, granted him a Pardon, and made him Bishop of Chichester. [And now Doctor, pray tell me, have we any Exemption King and Queen made any such Bishops, or Chaplains in these?]*

' 3. *THIS KING in his first Year, lent eight SHIPS (which he equip'd with Armies given for the Relief of his distressed Protestant Sister, the Electress Palatine, and the oppressed Protestants of the Palatinate) TO THE FRENCH KING, to fight against the distressed Protestants of Rochel: These Ships were employ'd against the Rochellers; and the French boasted, that they mowed the Hereticks down like Grass. [Pray Sir, your Opinion in the case: Can you think their present Majesties will ever imitate their ROYAL GRANDEFATHER in this Point?]*

' 4. *King Charles the First in the very beginning of his Reign, took our Goods from us against our Wills, and our Liberties against the Law; he raised an Army, and required the Countreies to furnish him with Cannon and Gunpowder; and against the known Laws he sent his Dragoon Martial Law; HE levied Money upon the Subject by way of Loan, and demanded the City of London, that if they would not advance him Money, HE WOULD FRAME HIS COUNSELLS AS APPERTAINED TO A KING.*

' *As the safety of our Decors, could not but be inter-shaken such a one as France was played out; it may signify King in that Language, in our plain English, 'tis downright Fraud.*
 ' *When it was urged that his requiring SHIP MONEY was unprecedented; this haughty Answer was, That Precedents were not wanting for the Punishment of those that disobey the King's Commanders; and that Great Officers were not to be guided by ordinary Precedents. Those that refused to subscribe to the Loan, were put out of the Commissions of the Lieutenants; and the Pricks; and also imprisoned; and the Refusers of the meaner Rank were bound to appear, and be enrolled for Soldiers to be sent for Duty; or were impressed to serve in the King's Ships. [There now is a ready way not only for the raising of Money, but also an Army for Flanders, and Sailors for our Fleet. But all your Rhetorick, Reverend Sir, will not work upon their Majesties to imitate your good and great Man in these things neither.]*

5. YOUR

YOUR MARTYR suspended Dr. *ABBOT*, Archbishop of
 Canterbury; who may allow this wholly without the *consent* of
 the *Parliament*; and that of the Reformed Churches in Europe, so
 far as that on his side the *CLERGY* may not much rejoice here
 in England, nor the Government of *England* much disapproved
 by Protestants beyond the Seas. I say, HE SUSPENDED
 this Excellent Person, and also CONFINED him, because
 (might his words) HE REFUSED TO MAKE THAT
 GOOD BY DIVINITY WHICH THE KING HAD DONE
 AGAINST THE LAWS. HE also thought Dr. *WILLIAMS*
 Bishop of *Exeter* from the state of Lord Keeper, and his Pre-
 cepts, and the Council Tables for appearing in *Parliament*
 against the *King's* grace *Gaius* the Duke of *Backingham*,
 and afterwards he imprisoned him in the Tower for speaking
 against the *Lease*, for refusing to allow Proceedings against *Pu-
 ritans*, and professing that the *Parliament* would carry all a safe
 [I doubt, Doctor, that should the King and Queen imitate their
 Grandfather in these Practices, you should find your self, as Mr.
WELLS was with *James* the first, and the first *Parliament* would find
 your Grace about *Windsor*, ready to do for your *Indignation*.]

So THE INFANT, unwilling to subvert the Liberties and
 Estates of the Subjects to his Will and Pleasure, removed the
French and *Irish* Galleys Sir *Randolph* Crew, from the place of
 Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, because he had declared
 himself against the *Lease* and would not serve as *Justice* in de-
 claring that the King might legally imprison Men, *without* in-
 compliance. [My Life for yours, Doctor, their *majesties*
 will never follow this Example of your PATTERN FOR
 PRINCES.]

Now HE upon the job of *JANUARY* (of all the days in
 the Year) sent a *Privilege* to the *Transit*, for the
 remitting 300000 into *Holland* to *Richmond*, a Merchant, to be
 employed for buying Horses and Men to be brought into *England*
 to support his Tyranny. [And can you think their *Majesties*
 will ever write after this Copy?]

So HE had no sooner passed the PETITION OF RIGHT
 into a Law, than he was found to violate it, by *raising* of
 Soldiers, and *raising* the Subsidies of Tonnage and Poundage,
 which determined by his Father's Death; and were never pay-
 able to any of his Ancestors, but only by special Act of *Par-
 liament*.

in the Tower, nor broken faith of full power, and you will not recommend these various Practices to the Nobles of these Majesties.]

HE FIRST OF THESE THINGS OF PARLIAMENTS, HE SENT A threatening Message to the Commons, that if he had not timely Supply, he would beate himself to NEW COUNSELS. At another time he said to the Lords and Commons, REMEMBER THAT PARLIAMENTS ARE ALTOGETHER IN MY POWER, THEREFORE, I WILL IN FORTH WITH, CHOOSE OR CHASE, THEY ARE TO CONTINUE, OR NOT TO BE. HE told the Parliament, the Day of March 1657, That if they should not contribute unto the State under the name of OTHER MEANS, And his Lordships added, That if the King found the Readiness of their Supply, he might the better fortify the use of his prerogative. That the King chose that way of Parliament, because he may have been already not a subject of choice, BUT THEY MUST BE REMOVED TO HIS DISPOSITION. [You will readily agree with me, that Sir, the King will have his own way, and the way of Parliament.]

THUS NOW REPLYING TO WHAT I SAID IN MY FORMER LETTER, and thence presented you with a short piece, indeed a dozen or so, but will leave it, and I could have doubled the number, but for the present I conclude there may stay your Study, this being a Festive Day.

I must now tell you, that I am as much as ever, for the FORTH of the Martyr, which deliver their Majesties and the Butmethinks I hear you reply to me, So you will certainly be, if you read such and such a Pamphlet, as I have conversed with, you must apply your self to the important, learned and industrious Ministry of the most reverend Dr. Hollingworth, if you will be enlightened in this great Point. He, and also, the Reading in the way of Truth, speaking as I say, you must take his Word for it. May I so? He's then the Man for my money, and casting off my Strumpet of a Pamphlet, I will READ, TRY and JUDGE, according as another Doctor advises the Lord Folke. And,

I proceed (Sir) to the Examination of your Defense of King Charles the First. You tell us, that in looking into and considering his Life, you found your self equally affected with Joy and Grief. Now I shall attempt to allwage your Grief, but in doing it shall

(2)

shall abate so much of your conceived Joy, that, with the late
Elegant Recorder, I doubt I shall bring you to a *handful of*
Grief and a handful of Sorrows.

You ground your Joy upon your meeting with a Person so
admirably temper'd, so greatly condescending, so ready to comply with
whatever was proposed to him for the good of his Subjects, of so great
Constancy to the Religious Persuasions of his own Mind, that he
would not forsook them.

To begin with the last; because you will have the Church to
take place of the State. And that we made happy at this day by
the Hereditary Sincerity of your Majesty's Son: he was so con-
stant to the Religious Persuasions of his own Mind; that rather
than forsake them, he very fairly abdicated the Throne: He
sacrificed his Crown to **FATHER PETRE'S IDOLATRY**,
his Father, to **FATHER LAND'S SUPERSTITION**.

HIS TEMPER will be less thereafter: I shall therefore in
this place only enquire, whether it appeared so admirably good
as you insinuate, when he took the *Noble Earl of Danbigh* A
BOX ON THE EAR, for only walking in the Privy Gallery
at Windsor. We are now to examine his Condescension and
Compliance for the Good of the People; and in doing it shall evince
how little you understand the History of his Life, and what
reason there is to mortify a *Chaplain* of their present Majesty
for recommending this KING to a Pattern to future Princes.

I come now (Sir) to your *Melancholy Part*, which you thus
express: *I have been often overwhelmed, AS IT WERE, with*
Sorrow and a handfull of Grief. That **AS IT WERE** secures
some hope in your case, for which there had been no room,
had you been in earnest overwhelm'd. But pray what brings
you, *Deaf*, into this unhappy case? Why, this Prince, so every
way great and good, is lik'd by every *Silly Scribler*. A *salutary*
number of Men now speak of him but as a **TYRANT, A ROGUE,**
A RASCAL: They call the Day on which he was murder'd, and
which is appointed by the Supreme Power of the Nation to be reli-
giously observed, **THE MADDING DAY**.

There's no remedy (Sir) but Patience; there will ever be
found some *silly Scribler* or other upon this Subject, whilst the
World is troubled with any *silly Defender* of this **TYRANT**;
as such I shall continue to talk of him, and that with Demonstra-
tion; but I much suspect that you have learn'd the rude Terms
of

Pag. 2.

Pag. 3.

of ROGUE AND RASCAL; from your own *factions Error*; (you know what I mean) when they are speaking of his present Majesty you say; How ought we to hold him; & what alleys shall we go in? Now (dear Doctor) as to your MADDING-DAY; allow me to present you with the Opinion of a Person tolerably wise and thoughtful, I mean Dr. Burnet, now Lord Bishop of Salisbury, in his Sermon before the Aldermen of London (the Lord Mayor being sick, and therefore absent) at St. Lawrence Church, upon the 30th of January 1680, he did express himself in these words; I acknowledge it were better if we could have Job's Wish, That that Day should perish, that Darkness and the shadow of Death should cover it, that it should not see the dawning of the Day, nor should the Light shine upon it: It were better to strike it out of our Calendar, and to make our January determine at the 29th, and add these remaining days to February.

In hope (Sir) that I have here offered something to cool your red-hot Zeal for the Observation of this Day; upon which you, and many of your high-flown Brethren, have too long spouted out most fullsome Flattery upon your Royal Majesty, and been infusing Principles of Slavery into the free-born People of ENGLAND. I now proceed upon your Discomfiture. You say, that your Grief swims above its usual Bank, and that your Indignation against a VILE BROOD. Why? in earnest Doctor, 'tis time to look out for Cures; 'tis not above two or three Minutes since you appeared only, AS IT WERE, bewitched with Sorrow: Now the overflowing of your Grief, and swelling your Choler, speaks your case, AS IT WERE, desperate; and I doubt you will run mad before your next MADDING-DAY; But I have undertaken the drudgery of reading you through, and must take what follows, and so must you, to wit, that You go on telling me; That from these two Reasons of Grief and Anger, you are resolved to vindicate this great Prince; and IF POSSIBLE, to shame those who do shew by what they say, that they have neither Knowledge, Wisdom, nor good Manners; nor indeed any thing else, that belongs to the Human, as well as Christian Nature. I found (Sir) by your staring and foaming at the Mouth, what you would come to, and 'tis now with you as I foretold; Would any Man in his Wits set himself not only to put a Herd of Wild Beasts to shame, but also to teach them Letters and Breeding?

Breeding? But an angry Doctor thinks himself fit for any thing, when at the same time I esteem him capable of nothing; for no Man that falls into a Passion can argue well; and you (Sir) have undertaken a much more difficult Task than you are aware of. For I have read in the fore-mentioned Sermon of the Learned Bishop of Salisbury, an Expression to this effect: That it might be expected that he should enlarge on the Vertues, the Piety, the Magnanimity and Constancy of *Adam*, of this just Martyr; but he confessed the performing this to be a Task above his strength. But what will not an aspiring Chaplain say? I have now (Sir) reached to what you resolve upon.

Pag. 4.

You tell me, That you intend only to run through the last eight Years of his Reign. Do you so, Sir? here's a Snake in the Grass, Doctor, or else, why do you skip his first sixteen Years? I wish, that instead of running through (which argues you in haste) I do not find you lying over the Years you pitch upon; if you deny I shall endeavour to lure you back again; which that I may the more certainly do, I determine to keep pace with, or fight of you. *proceeding* you say, that you are afraid, that from the beginning of the Long Parliament, November 4. is the day of his Death, he did every thing ALMOST that deserved a better Reputation than it met with; and made such various Offers and Commissions, as would have pleased any sort of Men but those who were resolved to be Masters of this whole Crown and Dignity. *proceeding* you say, that you are afraid, that from the beginning of the Long Parliament, November 4. is the day of his Death, he did every thing ALMOST that deserved a better Reputation than it met with; and made such various Offers and Commissions, as would have pleased any sort of Men but those who were resolved to be Masters of this whole Crown and Dignity. *proceeding* you say, that you are afraid, that from the beginning of the Long Parliament, November 4. is the day of his Death, he did every thing ALMOST that deserved a better Reputation than it met with; and made such various Offers and Commissions, as would have pleased any sort of Men but those who were resolved to be Masters of this whole Crown and Dignity.

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ment in his first sixteen Year's Reign, and yet did every thing (with an unlucky) *ALMOST* to redress such things as his *Majesty's* Administration had put out of order, *SO FAR AS HE COULD BE SATISFIED THEY WERE OUT OF ORDER*. For to the eternal Honour of their present *Majesties*, and to the unspeakable Comfort of all good *Englishmen*, we see them daily acquiring in the Wisdom of their great Council, and redressing, not only *ALMOST*, but *ALTOGETHER*, the Disorders and Grievances of two or three unhappy Reigns.

In the next place you affirm, That when the *Parliament* sat down in 1640, the King purposed and resolved to consent to everything they could offer, which might be really for the good of his Kingdom: You are, Sir, too general herein for my Conversation; you talk as tho you had been one of his *Privy-Council*, or at least a *Chaplain* to *Archbishop Laud*. I cannot say what his Purposes or Resolutions were, but when we come to Particulars, shall endeavour to weigh them by his Actions.

Pursuant to what he purposed and resolved, (say you) he tells them frankly in his first Speech, that he was resolved to put himself freely and clearly on the Love and Affection of his *ENGLISH SUBJECTS*; and withal, promises them to conduct so honestly with them, that all the World may see, that his Intentions *HAVE EVER BEEN*, and shall be to make *THIS* a glorious Kingdom. Having said this, you are running on, Doctor, but with too much speed for me; you instantly add, *I think, &c. Well, so you may*, and I intend to hear what that is anon; for now, and not till now, you have cut me out Work, and I must interrupt you to pause a little, and hear what I observe upon what you but now declared: He told them he resolved to put himself freely and clearly on the LOVE AND AFFECTION of his *ENGLISH SUBJECTS*. Can this be true, Doctor? Did he in earnest say so? Why, he was born at *Dunferling*, how then can you represent him abdicating his *Ancient Kingdom*, and renouncing the Love and Affection of the *Scottish Nation*? Seeing you are silent in this matter, I must it seems take the pains to examine it; and I promise to supply your Omission with Impartiality, and all imaginable regard to Truth. And in doing it, shall shew, with what brevity I can, not only the reason why your *Majesty* did, at this Juncture, *care and cajole an English Parliament*; but how our Nation became so happy as to see one assembled, when

our Fathers had almost forgot the Name of a *Parliament*. The Story is this.

The Reformation of England had never abrogated, nor scarce shaken the *Protestant Dignity* in any *Parliament*; but in *Scotland* it was quite rooted out by Law, that Church having been ever much addicted to the Reformation of *Geneva*: By degrees it was restored, by the extraordinary Interposition of the Power of *King James the first*, yet not without many Difficulties, not without great Reluctancy of the *Nobility, Gentry, and most of the Ministers of that Nation*. They suffered a great Diminution of their Temporal Liberties by the Introduction of *Episcopal Jurisdiction*, the *Bishops* using rigorous Proceedings against Gentlemen of Quality, by *Fines, Imprisonments, &c.* And the whole structure of *Ecclesiastical Policy*, so long used in *Scotland*, and established by so many *Acts of Parliament*, was at one blow thrown down, their *Consistories, Classes, and Presbyteries* were held in the nature of *Conventicles*, and all Decision of *Ecclesiastical Controversies* confined to the *Tribunal of a Bishop*.

Dr. Hollingworth in his Tract called, *A Vindication of their Majesties Wisdom, &c.* p. 9. saith, that *Land* was A *VERY GOOD MAN*, the Book of Sports excepted: for ought I know he meant this *Scottish Book*, for it made Sport with a *swiss*; if he did not, I am sure this deserved an Exception also.

I am sensible of the *Doctor's* Infirmities, that he is addicted to rash and inconsiderate Railing; therefore, tho' I will not humour him, in reciting the Authority which I have for this *black Story* of his otherways *very good Man*, because I have in his Works no more than his bare word for what he asserts: my good Nature prompts me to advise him, not to give me the Lie in this matter, for I know those who have been at *Rome*, and I can produce a most reputable Member of the *Church of England*, for what I here charge upon that *very ill Man Land*. After this friendly Caution, the *Doctor* may deny it if he dares.

That fierce, cruel, insolent and Popishly-affected *Archbishop Land*, was the main Instrument in this fatal Work: He in the Year 1637, composed a *Common-Prayer Book* for *Scotland*, and desiring, to demonstrate his great Affection to the Court of *Rome*, sent it thither to be approved by the *Pope and Cardinals*; they returned it with Thanks for his Respect to them, but sent him word, that they thought it not fit for *Scotland*. The *GOOD MAN* thereupon, further to ingratiate himself with his *ELDER BROTHER*, alter'd some things in it, and made it more harsh and unreasonable; and then instigated the *King* to send it to the *Scotts*, with an express Command to have it read in their Churches: It varied from the *English Common-Prayer Book*, but the Alterations were for the worse, especially in the *Lord's-Supper*; it was expressly commanded that the *Altar* (so

called)

called) should be situate to the *Eastern Wall*, together with many Postures of the *Minister*, whilst he officiated. And in the *consecrating Prayer*, those words which in the *English Liturgy*, are directly against *Transubstantiation*, were quite left out in that Book, and instead of them such other words as in plain sense agreed with the *Roman Mass-Book*, viz. *Hear us, O most merciful Father, and of thy Omnipotent Goodness grant, so to bless and sanctify by thy Word and Spirit, these Creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may be to us THE BODY AND BLOOD of thy beloved Son*. In a word, the *Scots* affirmed, that all the material Parts of the *Mass-Book* were *seminally* in this, and they could not relish it, that *Laurel* and his *Set of English Bishops*, should urge them to a *Liturgy* more *Popish* than their own; and observed, that, for *Unity*, they were content to meet *Rome*, rather than *Scotland*.

The Book being read by a *Bishop*, in the *City of Edinburgh*; the People expressed great detestation thereof; and the *Bishop* who read it, had probably been slain coming out of the Church, had not a Noble-man rescued him. The *Nobility, Gentry and Ministers*, petitioned against it. The *King* threatened to prosecute them as *Rebels*, and commanded the *Council* to receive no more *Petitioners*: Thereupon several of the *Nobility*, in the Name of the *Petitioners*, made a *Protestation*, that the *Service-Book* was full of *Superstition* and *Idolatry*, and ought not to be obtruded upon them, without consent of a *National Synod*, which in such Cases should judge: That it was unjust to deny them Liberty to accuse the *Bishops* being guilty of High Crimes; of which till they were cleared, they did reject them as Judges or Governours of them: They justified their own Meetings, and subscribing to *Petitions*, as being to defend the *Glory of God, the King's Honour*, and *Liberties of the Realm*.

The *Scots* concluded to renew the *COVENANT* which had been made and sealed under *King James's Hand*, in the Year 1580; afterwards confirmed by all the *Estates of the Kingdom*, and Decree of the *National Synod* in 1581; *THIS COVENANT* was for the Defence of the *PURITY OF RELIGION*, and the *King's Person and Rights*, against the *Church of Rome*. This was begun in *February* 1638, and was so fast subscribed throughout the Kingdom, that before the end of *April*, he was scarce accounted one of the *Reformed Religion*, that had not subscribed the *Cove-*
nant.

near. The Non-Covenanters were Papists, not exceeding 600 in number throughout the Kingdom; State-men in Office and Favour at that time, and some few Protestants who were affected to the Ceremonies of *England*, and Book of *Common Prayer*.

The King sent the Marquess of *Hamilton* to deal with the Scots to renounce their Covenant; but they affirmed, It could not be done without manifest Perjury and Profanation of God's Name; and insisted to have the Service-Book utterly abolished, it being obtruded against all Law upon them. That their Meetings were lawful, and such as they would not forsake, until the Purity of Religion and Peace might be fully settled, by a free and National Synod: And they declared, THAT THE POWER OF CALLING A SYNOD, IN CASE THE PRINCE BE AN ENEMY TO THE TRUTH, OR NEGLIGENT IN PROMOTING THE CHURCHES GOOD, IS IN THE CHURCH ITSELF. And that the State of the Church at that time necessitated such a course.

The King at length, fearing lest the Covenanters, if he delayed, would do it themselves, called a National Synod, to begin at *Glasgow* the 21st of November 1638, but within seven days it was dissolved by the Marquess of *Hamilton*, in the King's Name, and they commanded to sit no more. But they protested against that Dissolution, and continued the Synod when the Marquess of *Hamilton* was gone, and deposed all the Bishops; condemned the *Liturgy*, took away the High-Commission Court, and whatsoever had crept into the Church since the Year 1580, when the NATIONAL COVENANT was first established. When they themselves broke up the Synod they wrote a Letter of Thanks to the King, and published a Declaration, Feb. 4, 1638, directed to all the sincere and good Christians in *England*, to vindicate their Actions and Intentions, from those Aspersions which Enemies might throw upon them.

This Declaration was welcome to the People of *England* in general, and especially to those who stood best affected to the Reformed Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of their Country. In fine; the Scots are declared Rebels, and the King in Person, with an *English Army*, resolved to chastise them. But,

The generality of the Nation detested the War, knowing that the Scots were innocent, and wronged by the same Hand that they were oppressed; and they concluded, that the same Sword which subdued the Scots, must destroy their own Liber-

ties:

sies: Yet glad they seem'd to be, that such an Occasion hap-
pen'd, which might in reason necessitate the King to call an *Eng-
lish Parliament*; but whilst he could make any other shift, how
low and dishonourable soever, he would not endure to think of
a Parliament: He borrowed great Sums of Money of the No-
bility, and required Loans of others; and the *CLERGY* contri-
buted liberally to this War, which was called *BELIUM*
EPISCOPALE, THE BISHOPS WAR.

The King being animated to the War by the *Bishops*, both of
England and Scotland; the last perswading him, that the *COVE-
NANTERS* were in no sort able to resist him; that scarce any
English Army at all would be needful to fight, but only to ap-
pear; and his *Majesty* would find a Party ready enough in
SCOTLAND to do the Work. He thereupon rais'd a gallant
Army, which rendezvoused at York.

The Scots likewise (to render the King unwilling or unable to
be a Tyrant) rais'd a brave Army, which advanced forward
under the Command of *General Lesley*. They nevertheless con-
sider'd their first cause of Parting the King; which being fa-
voured by almost all the Nobility of *England* (at last, by the
happy Mediation of those Wise and Noble Counsellors, a *RE-
CONCILIATION*, to the great Joy of all good Men, was solemnly
concluded on, the 19th of June 1639, and the King granted them
a free *National Synod* to be holden August 6, and a *Parliament* to
begin the 10th, to resolve what the Synod should decree: Here-
upon the *English and Scots* returned home, praising God, who,
without any effusion of Blood, had compounded this Difference,
and prevented a War so wickedly design'd. But

Shortly after the King's return to *London*, his Heart was again
estranged from the Scots, and thoughts of Peace; and he re-
commended the *PACIFICATION* to be burnt by the Hands of the com-
mon Hangman: An Act, than which, nothing could more blemish
his Reputation, as rendering him not to be believed for any thing.
For what Tie would hold him, when the Engagement of his
Word, his Royal Word, given in sight of God and Man, could
not bind? And having, upon the 19th of December, broke up
the *Scottish Parliament*, he began to prepare for a new WAR. The
Scots complain'd, that it was a Breach of their Liberties, not
heard of before in twenty Ages, That a Parliament should be
dissolv'd without their Consent, whilst Business of Moment was de-
pending;

pending; That whatsoever Kings in other Kingdoms might do, it con-
cerned not them to enquire; that it was absolutely against Liberty
that they hereupon sent four Earls, and their Commissioners to the
King, to complain what nothing was performed which he had pro-
mised at the PACIFICATION; and to intreat redress of those
Injuries which had been offered them since the Pacification. But
to add to the Grievances of that oppressed Nation, the King com-
mitted two of their Commissioners to Prison.

In April 1640, the King called on Parliament in England, not
to seek Counsel and Advice of them, but to draw Countenance
and Supply from them; resolving, either to make the Parlia-
ment pliant to his Will; and to establish Mischief by a Law, or
else to break it. The Scots wrote a Justification of their Pro-
ceedings to this Parliament; and advised them, to be wary in
vindicating their own Laws and Liberties; this Parliament being
procured to no other End, but to arm the King against his Scottish
Subjects, and by that War to enslave both the Nations; That after so
many Violations and Dissolutions of Parliaments in England, this was
not called to redress Grievances; but to be so over-rach'd, (if they
were not careful) that no possibility should be left for the future, of
redressing any. That some dangerous Practice might be well suspect-
ed, when at the same time a Parliament was desired to Scotland, the
promised by the WORD OF A KING, granted to England when
not expected, and shew'd upon Ireland when not desired.

The Parliament met the 13th of April, when the King requi-
red a Supply to carry on his War against the Scots, with a Pro-
mise that he would afterwards redress the Kingdom's Grievan-
ces. To which it was answered by many, That redress of
Grievances was the chief End of assembling Parliaments, and
ought to precede granting of Subsidies: That the People had
no reason to pay for that which they neither caused nor desired;
and which could not prove to their Good, but quite contrary,
to the great detriment of the whole Kingdom: That they would
more willingly pay, to prevent that unhappy War: That the War
would make the Breach wider, and the Remedy desperate:
That THE BEST JUSTICE WOULD BE, TO FILL UP
THE PITS WHICH WERE MADE TO TRAP OTHERS,
WITH THE BODIES OF THOSE THAT DIGGED THEM.

Upon

And your laws, Sir, I here are and ready to be satisfied that Information is given from whether has been said? And I would have said, that this Declaration of the Lord of the Isles, who drew them in, to support him in his pretended War against the Scottish Nobles, whom at the same time he called Rebels, and urged their Expulsion, the Lord of the Isles, as a Dissembler of Affairs, was a man who was a Dissembler of Affairs, and a Dissembler of Affairs, and his Complaints might be weighed in this Balance, to dissolve Information: That he appeared in Scotland, and in England, in his Attempts upon the People, and in their

This appears in many Particulars, to recount some of them briefly.

1. Information, That the Lord of the Isles, in his Attempts upon the People, and in their Complaints, might be weighed in this Balance, to dissolve Information: That he appeared in Scotland, and in England, in his Attempts upon the People, and in their

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((225))

Mr. P. remained under Years in the Tower upon this Occasion, and in that time Dr. Baskin, O. in the Year 1634, was brought into the High Court of the Bishop, and imprisoned in the Tower.

In the Year 1636, Mr. Baskin preached a Sermon upon the 24th of November, at St. Dunstons Church, London, wherein he laid open the Innovations in Religion, Warlike and Ecclesiastical, which had lately crept into the Church; and withal he prophesied the Ruine of them. For this, he was charged with Articles to be drawn against him in the High Commission Court, and was committed there. Then, saying he thought to be broken open, took and committed him to the Close Close Prisoner; and he was shut up there divers Weeks from his Wife and Friends.

Upon the 11th of March 1635, they exhibited an Information against Dr. Baskin, Mr. Byn, and Mr. Byn, in the Star Chamber. And upon the 14th of June 1637, they passed this Sentence on them, viz. That each of them should be bound in the Tower, To pay a Fine of 5000 l. a Man; and be perpetually imprisoned in their respective Places of the Kingdom, viz. in the Cities of Canterbury, Worcester, and Lancaster; and also, they were to be imprisoned in the Church with their respective Books and Libraries.

Upon the 30th of June 1638, to the great regret of the People, who showed their way with Heresies, these Confessors for the English Liberties, were brought to the Place appointed for the Execution of the accursed Sentence; which was done in a manner extraordinarily cruel.

Dr. Baskin being upon the Pillory, spoke thus to the lamenting People, I wrote a Book against the Pope, and the POPE OF CANTERBURY said I wrote against him. So far am I from base Fear, that had I as much Blood as would swell the Thames, I would shed it every drop in this Cause. And when he was taken as I have Hairs on my Head, I would give them all for this Cause. Being let out of the Pillory, he took the Sponge from one of his Ears, which was all bloody, and waving it over his Head, said, Blessed be my God, who hath enabled me to suffer any thing for his sake. And as I have now lost some of my Blood, so I have now gained an Ounce of my Liberty, which I have now gained for which I have now suffered; which is for maintaining the Truth of God, and the Honour of my King against Popish Tyranny. LET GOD BE GLORIFIED.

E

AND

Discoverers of
of Blood against
the Protestants
Religion, and
English Liber-
ties have been
ever used as
the rate which
Mr. P. was
ever since
said's Parti-
on for up in
the Church.

AND LET THE KING LIVE FOR EVER. [There were not
Expressions of a COMMON WEALTHY MANY on this
M'Grath's most Doctor. Chalmers was not a
man of commonwealth.]

* Discoverers of Plots against the Protestant Religion, and English Liberties, have been ever used at the rate which Mr. Pryn was, ever since *Land's Faction* got up in the Church.

[illegible][illegible]

Moreover he said, *My Commission is the discharge of my Ministerial Duty, in admonishing my People to beware of the CREEPING IN OF POPERY, and Exhorting of them to stick close to the Word of God, in Divine Ordinances, and the which first evidenced my Sufferings; For the Truth I have preached, am ready to seal with my Blood; for this is my Crown of Life, and hereafter I expect to receive it.*

After this Execution done, they were banished to the remote parts of the Kingdom, and there kept several Years in House and solitary Confinement, not allowed Pen, Ink and Paper, nor the sight of any friend; and in this most deplorable case did the Parliament in November 1643, and these three distressed Gentlemen, of several Professions, the noblest in the Kingdom, Divines, Law, and Physick: but they were soon sent for from their Exile, and brought into *London* by many thousands of rejoicing Gentlemen and Citizens, who went out on Horse back to meet and congratulate their Deliverance. And the Parliament taking their Case into Consideration, *1644* **THE JUDGMENTS GIVEN** against them were *abolished*, and against the **LIBERTY OF THE SUBJECT**. Now *that* **DEATH**, was not here reason with a witness, to open every Man's Mouth with Complaints, against these most arbitrary and pernicious Courts, and to induce the Parliament to remove these Forges of Misery, Oppression and Violence? Nevertheless the KING, with a very unwilling Will, as I have shew'd, yielded hereby: but as he lost much of the Thanks, which to great a Grace, freely and forwardly express'd, might have deserved; so I doubt it will be some diminution to your Credit, *Dear Doctor*, that, contrary to what you affirm, HE DELAYED, and did not presently comply in this matter. Well! what follows now? The King is still on the giving hand no doubt of it.

THE SHIP-MONEY (you add) *the great and very learned Lawyers had given their Opinion, that the exacting of it in some Cases was according to Law; yet he, GOOD MAN, gives up that also.*

Here, *good Doctor*, you speak like A MEER CLERGY-MAN, and I begin to suspect that you never read any other than Dr. **NALSON'S HISTORY**, and are tainted with the Principles of those famous Gentlemen of the *Cassock*, **STBTHORP** and **MANWARING**, who as well as some designing Lawyers,

told your *Majesty*. That *Authority of Parliament* is not necessary for raising *Aids and Subsidies*. That all *Amalgam* is absolutely for absolute *Obedience* to *Princes* in all *Civil and Temporal Things*. You make the yielding up the *Claim of Ship-Money* to be an Act of pure *Grace*; for very able *Lawyers* gave their *Opinion* that the *King* might exact it by *Law*; and so I have told you; did *not* this and no less *knowish Divines*. But hearken, I beseech you, what the *Wisdom of Parliament* told him. They declared it to be an *unlawful* *Act*; they noted it as *an illegal Taxation*; and in consequence *thereof* they took it into the *Charge* of those *Judges* who advised the *King* in this matter; and thought that *Sir JOHN FRASER* (a Gentleman of good Birth, of an high and impetuous Spirit, ELOQUENT IN SPEECH, and in the knowledge of the *Law* not very deep) in the Year 1626, when *Ship-Money* was first plotted and set on foot, was made *Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas*; and it appeared that by his *Brokage and Solicitation*, and that with threats and Promises, several of the *Judges* were wrought upon to give it under their hand; that the *King* might by *Law* exact *Ship-Money*; Thereupon an *Impeachment of High Treason* was brought up against him; and the great *LORD FAULKLAND* (then an *Advocate of the Church*, as you tell me) presented it to the *Lords*, with a very pithy and sharp Oration against *Fraser*; but he (being at this time *Lord Keeper*) not daring to abide the Test, took his Wings, and fled in a disguise to *Holland*. In Conclusion, the *Arbitrary Power*, pretended to be in the *King*, of taxing the *Subject* without Consent in *Parliament*, was not only declared to be against *Law* by the Judgment of both Houses, but also by *Act of Parliament*. Thus we rid our Hands of *SHIP-MONEY*. And,

Now indeed, Sir, you come to that which might well raise your *Choler*, and stir your *Indignation*: The *King* passed a *Bill* to remove the *Bishops* out of the *House of Lords*; he also passed a *Bill* for attainting the great *Earl of Strafford*, which offered Violence to the *Peace and Quiet* of his *Mind* all the days of his *Life*.

To tell you the *Truth*, *Doxton*, the *Parliament* found the *Bishops* of that day, to be the *Troublers* of the *State*; and that it was by consequence become most necessary to abridge their *immoderate Power* usurped over the *Clergy*, and other good *Subjects*, which they had most maliciously abused to the hazard of *Religion*,

gion, and great Prejudice and Oppression of the Laws of the Kingdom, and just Liberty of the Subject: They had cherish'd *Popery* and *Superstition* as the probable Supports of their own *Ecclesiastical Tyranny and Usurpation*; they had multiplied and enlarged the Differences between the common Protestants, and those whom they called *Puritans*, under which Name they included all those that desired to preserve the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and to maintain the true Protestant Religion. They had been designing a *Conjunction between English and Protestants in Doctrine, Discipline and Ceremonies*, only it must not yet be called *Papery*. They had triumphed in the *Superstitions, Excommunications, Deprivations and Degradations* of divers learned and pious Ministers, in the Veration and grievous Oppression of great numbers of the People, whereby many thousands were impoverished, and others were so afflicted and troubled by them, that great numbers departed into *New-England*, and other parts of *America*, others into *Holland*. The most of the *Preaching* that was allowed, was degenerate into railing against *Parliaments and Puritans*, (because they were tenacious of just Liberty and true Religion) crying up *Absolute Authority, Passive Obedience, &c.* Screams of Wit, fitter for a Stage than a Pulpit. After the Dissolution of the *Parliament* in May 1640. They continued the *Convocation*, and by unheard-of Presumption, they made *Cannons* contrary to the *King's Prerogative*, to the *Fundamental Laws of the Realm*, to the *Right of Parliament*, to the *Property and Liberty of the Subject*, thereby establishing their own *Usurpations*, justifying their *Altar-Worship*, and other *Superstitious Innovations*, which they had formerly introduced without Warrant of Law; they imposed a new *Oath* on the Subjects for maintenance of their own *Tyranny*, and laid a great *Tax* upon the *Clergy*. And now, to fill up the measure of their Iniquity, the *House of Lords* upon the 30th of *December* 1641, at a Conference with the *Commons*, told them, that the *Bishops*, by a Protestation which they made to the *King and Lords*, had deeply invrenched upon the *Fundamental Privileges and Being of Parliament*; whereupon the *Commons* impeached twelve of them of *High-Treason*, in endeavouring to subvert the *Fundamental Laws of the Realm*, and the very *Being of Parliaments*; and they were by the *House of Peers* sequestred from *Parliament*, committed to the *Tower*, and shortly after, by *Act of Parliament*, most deservedly deprived of voting in the *House of Peers*.

I hope, good Doctor, you will acquiesce in the Resolutions which I have here offered for the passing this *Bill of Exclusion*; But the other *Bill* for *attainting* the *Earl of Stafford*, you say, *offered Violence to the Peace and Quiet of his Mind, all the Days of his Life*.

This great Man who had long run on in a full Career to establish Tyranny, trampling down the Peoples Liberties, tearing the Hedges of the Laws, or making Gaps through them, was impeached by the Commons in many Articles, some whereof were for *ruining Ireland* (for which he had been *Lord Lieutenant*) in an Arbitrary way, against the Fundamental Laws, which he had endeavoured to subvert. For abusing his Power to the increase and encouragement of *Papists*; for maliciously endeavouring to stir up Hostility between *England and Scotland*; for labouring to subvert *Parliaments*; and incense the King against them; for levying Money by force of Arms; for imposing an Oath upon the Subjects, That they should not protest against any of the Kings Commands; for telling the King, That he had an Army in Ireland, which his Majesty might employ to reduce the Kingdom to Obedience.

Upon this Impeachment the Earl was brought to Trial before the Lords, which lasted from the 22^d of March, (with but few days Intermission) till the middle of April. After this long Trial, the Commons voted him guilty of High-Treason, in divers Particulars, and drew up and passed a Bill of Attainder against him, but 59 dissenting. This Bill being carried to the Lords, the Kings Solicitor General made it good by Law, to the satisfaction of almost all that heard him: The Judges also delivered their Opinions, That the Matters proved against him amounted to Treason; and so the Lords passed the Bill. The King, having after this, called all the Judges to deliver their Opinions before him; and also sent for FOUR BISHOPS TO RESOLVE HIM UPON SCRUPLE OF CONSCIENCE; He, at length, gave the Royal Assent to this Bill.

Prithee, now Doctor, tell me, what aild your Martyrs Conscience at this time? There must be something extraordinary, and not commonly taken notice of in this Matter, that must (as you affirm) offer Violence to the Peace and Quiet of his Mind, all the Days of his Life. You know, he exacted the *Ship Money* without scruple of Conscience, upon the Advice of some Lawyers. And though they retracted their Opinions, both Houses of Par-

liament

Woman voted, and his Majesty at length acknowledged it to be an illegal and unjust Exaction: Yet that Guilt soon wore off, and we never heard that thereby, or by any other of the almost innumerable Oppressions of his People, his, nor by his destroying the poor Protestants of Rochel; the Quiet of his Mind was any way disturbed. Now, in the Case we are upon, here was a fair and most solemn Trial; The Lords and Commons voted *the Crimes, Treason, THE KING'S Counsel and Judges* avowed the Guilt; The *School* (MARK THAT DOCTOR) *saw'd the Thorn out of his Conscience*. Nevertheless, his passing the Bill, violated the Peace of his Mind all the days of his Life. To offer something towards the enlightning you in this Matter, allow me to remind you what you have before read? When the Duke of Buckingham was impeached for Treason, the same King told the Parliament, THAT BUCKINGHAM HAD NOT INTERMEDLED, NOR DONE ANY THING CONCERNING THE PUBLICK, BUT BY HIS SPECIAL DIRECTIONS.

Now, I have a strong fancy, that the unhappy *Esau*, was the same with the *Duke*; and that it disturbed the Quiet of the King's Mind, that he could not preserve this, as he had done his other Servant, in the execution of his own Commands. And no marvel it stung his Conscience to judge to death those Murtherers, whereas himself had been the chief Author.

In the next place, good Doctor, you inform us, That the King signed a Bill for a Triennial Parliament, which certainly was as great a benefit to the Nation as ever was granted by any King; but, unfortunately, Doctor, that when you think you are *for* only in the right, you are most undoubtedly in the wrong; for this Act for a TRIENNIAL PARLIAMENT, did not extend so much as by Law the Parliament ought to have required, there being at that time two Statutes of Edward 3d in force for a Parliament to be holden once a Year.

But now you bring me to an Act of superabundant Grace; you say, That *to pass an Act for the Parliament to sit during pleasure*. This was something indeed; we must therefore examine what Reasons the Parliament had to insist upon this Bill, and

and what the Motives were that brought the King to comply hereinafter was made manifest by the Examination and Confessions of several of the Criminals, that some time before the passing of the Bill for the continuance of the Parliament (which was upon the 10th of May 1641) The KING had been conversing with the Army which he had raised against the Scots, and which lay disbanded in the North, to bring them up to subvert the Parliament, and subdue them to his Will. Many great Men were found to be engaged in this Conspiracy, viz. Mr. Piercy, Brother to the Earl of Northumberland; Mr. Henry Jermin the Queen's Favourite, (afterwards Earl of St. Albans); Mr. Goring, eldest Son to the Lord Goring; Mr. Wilton, the Lord Wilton's eldest Son; Sir John Suckling; Colonel Ashburnham, Philipps, Ouel, an Irish Papist; and many others: these had taken an Oath of Secrecy among themselves. To join with this Army, and strengthen the Plot, a French Army was to be landed at Portsmouth, which Town, for that purpose, was to be put into Mr. Jermin's hands, and the Irish Army, consisting of 8000, arms, all Papists, was to be brought over.

* The Parliament had addressed the King to disband this Army; but he answered that he would not do so, for that he would not have the Army disbanded till he had received the sum of 100,000 l. for the arrears of the King's wages, and the King's command the Governor of Portsmouth to provide, with all speed, a Ship to carry him to any Port of France.

Mr. Piercy, by a Letter from beyond the Seas, to his Brother the Earl of Northumberland, dated the 14th of June, confessed much of this Conspiracy; in particular, the taking the Oath of Secrecy. And that they had agreed to engage the Army to stand by the King against the Parliament.

The preserving the Bishops Functions and Votes.

The not disbanding the Irish Army till the Scots were disband'd.

The endeavouring to settle his Revenue in that proportion as was formerly.

That

That he imparted all this to the King, and perceived, that he had been treated thus by others, concerning something of the Army, which did not agree with those Proposals, BUT INCLINED A WAY MORE HIGH AND SHARP, NOT HAVING LIMITS EITHER OF HONOUR OR LAW. That Goring and Jermin were acquainted with the other Proceedings; and that the King pressed Mr. Piercy to admit them to consultation: To which he having yielded, and sworn them to Secrecy, acquainted them what he had proposed: but HE FOUND THEIR PROPOSALS DIFFERED FROM HIS, IN VIOLENCE AND HEIGHT.

Colonel Goring confessed, upon his Examination, that Jermin carried him to the King, who asked him, If he was engaged in any CABAL concerning the Army? To which Goring answering, That he was not: The King said, I command you then to join your self with Piercy, and some others whom you will find with him at his Lodgings. That he thereupon went, and found with Mr. Piercy, Wilkes, Onal, and others: That he and Jermin having first taken the Oath of Secrecy, which the others had taken before: Mr. Piercy made his Propositions, viz. That the Army should presently be put into a posture to serve the King, and then should send up a Declaration to the Parliament of these Particulars: That nothing should be done in Parliament, contrary to any former Act of Parliament; and the King's Revenue be establish'd: That Jermin propounded, that the Army should be immediately brought to London; and they SHOULD MAKE SURE OF THE TOWER. And he confessed, that he himself urged these things, to shew the Vanity and Danger of the other Propositions, without undertaking these.

Lieutenant Colonel Ballard and Capt. Chudleigh confessed, that the French that were about London, were to be mounted, and would join with the Army: and that the Clergy would raise 1000 Horse to assist them. And Chudleigh added, that the Queen had sent down Money to fortify PORTSMOUTH: Further, that Mr. Jermin asked him, if he thought the Army would stick to their Officers, in case the King and Parliament should not agree?

It further appeared by the Confessions of Sir Jacob Astley, Sir John Cammer, and Capt. Legg, eminent Commanders in the King's Army; that Onal the Papist was a principal Agent in carrying

carrying on their Intrigue of working upon the Army to engage them against the Parliament: That THE KING was informed as under his Hand, for a Petition to be presented from the Army, in which was a Clause to this effect: That, whereas his Majesty is give God thanks, for putting it into the King's Heart, to consent to the Desires of the Parliament, to do many things, which none of his Ancestors would have consented unto, in giving way to the Triennial Parliament, and framing many other things for the Good of his Subjects; yet notwithstanding, some turbulent Spirits seem'd not to be satisfied, but **WOULD HAVE THE TOTAL SUBVERSION OF THE GOVERNMENT**: That therefore, the Army, being of good Comportment, though ill Paid, might be called up to attend the Person of the King and Parliament for their Security.

That the Design was, that the Army should march towards London, and spoil the Country all along as they went, to hinder the Scots from following them. That General proposed to Sir Jacob Astley, the making the Scots March; but Sir Jacob said, that they would lay him by the Heels, if he should come to move such a thing, for they would never break with the Parliament.

Upon this Discovery, I must tell you, Dearest, the Hearts of honest Men were highly grieved to find the King in this Conspiracy; and they began to despair of that Happiness which they had hoped for by this Parliament: And the two Houses doubting (as they well might) the King's sincere Affection to them, and considering what great Disturbance they had, and were like to meet with, in settling the State; and what great Disbursements of Money were to be made for payment of the English and Scottish Armies: They unanimously moved the King to sign a Bill for continuance of this present Parliament: That it should never be dissolved till both Houses did Consent and agree, that Publick Grievances were fully Redress'd: and his Majesty made it unsafe for him to deny it: Besides, as his extreme Wants had forc'd him to call this Parliament, so the same necessitated him to comply with them. For, the great Parliament (taught by woful experience, that he us'd Parliaments but to serve his Turn; and so when he had attained his Ends, their End ensued in a sudden Dissolution) would grant no Supply to relieve his Necessities, no-
til

all, by his Concession, they had already shew'd their Consent, as well as the People's consent and good Approbation: And they themselves declared, That their intention in it was, saving the Religion of the Royal Power in the House of Parliament, yet to avoid taking any Part from the Crown, but suggesting the Election of a new King (as King George did) which was necessary for the Publick Peace; that without it, they could not have undertaken any of those great Changes, but must have left both the Kingdom in Disorder and Confusion, and the whole Kingdom in Blood and Ruine. For to pay the Army, Money was to be borrow'd upon the Publick Faith, which had been nothing worth. If this Parliament could have been dissolved at the King's Pleasure.

And whereas (Sir) you express your self astonish'd at this gracious Compliance, and say, that the King surrenders the Bill before I answer, 'Twas most evident, that, as long before as I had so great a Necessity for a Parliament to assist me in it. And besides, in the Constitution of ENGLAND, CONSENTMENT, in manner was the ending of the **LAST OFFER**, that the King should dissolve Parliament, whilst the Great Affairs of the Kingdom were depending. And though Kings have used to do so, it was never the more lawful.

Well, Doctor, I agree with you, that the King passed these Bills, very advantageous for the Subject; yet in none of them was he bereaved of any just, necessary or probable Prerogative of the Crown. And I must tell you, because you are silent, and for ought I know, ignorant in the Point, all this while, that for ought for the King had out of the Subject's Purses, in the first Year of this Parliament, **ONE MILLION AND AN HALF OF MONEY**: And yet some Men have the Impudence to suggest, That the Parliament did nothing for him.

To proceed;

What's the next Article in the Impeachment against this Parliament? This is, to shew their Gratitude for what was done before, drew up a Remonstrance, wherein they made the most bitter Reflections upon the King's former Government. And which was so unmanly, as well as false, that when it came to be debated in the whole House, 'twas carried only by eleven Voices.

You are out again, my worthy Doctor! My Authentick Historian tells me a Tale quite contrary to yours. The Remonstrance,

or Declaration of the State of the Kingdom, was carried but by eight Voices, saith he; yet it contained plain (which I will allow you to call Unanimously, but must not yield to be false) Truths, reciting the chief Grievances and Oppressions which the Nation had groaned under since the beginning of this King's Reign untill that time; but with as much tenderness of Expression, and respect to his Person, as so much Truth could possibly be uttered. Many of the Members who opposed this Remonstrance, were of the same Opinion with those who voted for it; but urged, that as there could be hoped for by it. That instead of directing a stubborn King for the future, it would teach him only to hate the Makers of it, as Authors of his Crimes: And they held it fitter to win him by the sweeter way of concealing his Errors, rather than by publishing them, to hazard the provoking him. And now, Sir, what to contend it with you, whether the little Majority, or great Minority, were the best Politicians, and most in the right, you let us plainly see the wrong, when you insist, that this Remonstrance was so strenuously opposed, because the Matter therein was unanimously and falsely stated.

Pag. 8.

You add, That the King, having confessed this Remonstrance, and vindicated himself from those horrid Aspersions whereunto they loaded him, holding out all that good will to me, which I could desire.

Not to be transported, Richard Sir, to such an indecency of replying, as is usual in such a Case as this; I boldly tell you, that you talk loosely, and with no regard to Truth in what you now say, for I have the Royal Assent and Evidence now under my Eye, and do find that the King did fairly answer the Remonstrance, which sets forth the many Grievances and high Oppressions of the People; in these only words, We find IN FEW WORDS PASS over that part of the Narrative, wherein the Misfortunes of this Kingdom, from our first entering to the Crown, to the beginning of this Parliament, are remembered in so sensible Expressions. And to this he adds not one word in vindication of himself from those Misfortunes enumerated in the Parliament's Remonstrance, which you call HORRID ASPERSIONS; but his Majesty knew to be false Truths.

What follows next?

Ibid.

The King, (you say) through TUMULTS, and too much countenanced RIOTS, withdrawn from Whitehall, being under apprehensions

show of Affronts design'd to be offer'd to his Person, if not something worse.

The Story of these pretended Tumults and Riots, (dear Doctor) is so intermixt with another, relating to the greatest Violation of the Privileges of Parliament that ever was committed, that 'tis most necessary to talk of both together.

About the beginning of January 1641, the King sought nothing more than to begin a Quarrel; and to support himself therein, he employed *Buissaries* to cajole the young Gentlemen of the Law of Courts, to make offer of their Service to him, as a Guard of Defence; and divers of them to ingratiate themselves, repaired to the Court, and were highly caressed by the King and Queen: He at the same time ordered *Canonniers* and other *Affiliates*, into the Tower, and removed the *Lieutenant* thereof: He fortified *White-hall* with Men and Munition in an unusual manner. And about the same time, *Colonel Lunsford* and others gathered Troops of Horse at Kingston upon Thames, where the Magazine of Arms for that part of the County of Surrey lay. Matters on his part being thus prepared, upon the third of January (not only against the Priviledge of Parliament, but the common Liberty of every Subject) he commanded the *Chambers, Stables and Trunks* of the Lord Mandeville, a Member of the House of Lords, (Grandfather to the present Noble Earl of Manchester, who inherits as well the Vertues as Honours of that great Patriot) and of *Daniel Holles, Esq;* (since known by the name of the great Lord Holles) Sir *Arthur Hasterig*, Mr. *J. Pym*, Mr. *John Hamden* (Grandfather to that highly deserving Gentleman, who at this day bears his Name, and in whom his Vertues do live and flourish) and Mr. *William Strade*, Members of Parliament, * to be seized up. Upon the next day the King came with about 300 *Souldiers, Papists* and others to the House of Commons, armed with Swords, Pistols and other Weapons; and there demanded the said five Members to be delivered to him, upon a pretended Charge of High-Treason. His Followers at the same time thrusting away the Door-keepers and Attendants of the House, held up their Swords, and some their Pistols ready cock'd, saying, I am a good

* These were all Gentlemen of great Esteem and Reputation in the House. Two of them, Mr. *Holles* and Mr. *Strade*, having before suffered many Years of sharp and harsh Imprisonment from the King, after the Dissolution of the Parliament in the fourth Year of his Reign, for Matters done in Parliament, contrary to the Priviledges of that high Court.

Blanky

Marksmen, I can hit right I warrant you. Others of them said, A Pox take the House of Commons; a Pox of God confound them; and violently assaulted and by Force dismissed some of the Servants of the Members; and said, WHEN COMES THE WORD? and afterwards declared, that questioners, if the Word had been given, they should have fallen upon the House of Commons, and HAVE CUT ALL THEIR THROATS; which Doing the Commons declared, with a TRAITEROUS DESIGN against the King and Kingdom, and that they could not sit any longer without a sufficient Guard, where

* They petitioned the King to allow them a Guard to be commanded by the Lord Chamberlain of his Household, but could not obtain it.

in they might confer; wherefore they adjourned to the Tuesday following, having appointed a Committee to sit in the mean time at Guildhall London, to consider of all things that might concern the Good and Safety of the Kingdom, and the Rights of Ireland. And I am to tell you, Doctor, that the great Lord Chamberlain was the fourth Person named to this great Committee.

The Commons further declared, That they were far from protecting any of their Members that should in a disorderly manner be prosecuted according to the Laws of the Kingdom, and the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, for Treason or any other Misdemeanors; that none should be more ready and willing than themselves to bring them to a speedy and due Trial. And upon the 15th of January, they ordered the Attorney General, who had preferred the Articles of Treason against the Members, to bring in his Proof, and make them good, if he could. Whereupon the King sent a Message, that HE NOW FOUND CAUSE wholly to desist from proceeding against them; and had commanded his Attorney General to proceed no further therein, nor to produce any discovery any Proof concerning the matter. ALL BOTH HOUSES petitioned the King for the speedy proceeding against the accused Members IN A LEGAL WAY, whereby they might be brought to condign Punishment, if guilty; or discharged from so heavy an accusation, if innocent. The King giving an evasive Answer to this Petition, the Lords and Commons apply to him again, by a second Petition, praying, that the Parliament might be informed before Friday then next ensuing, what Proof there is against them, that they may be called to a Legal Trial.

To which *Parliament the King answered*, that, **AS HE ONCE CONCEIVED**, he had ground enough to accuse them: *So now, to Majesty's sake, as your Cause sheweth, to desire any Prosecution of them.* Do you hear this, DOCTOR? If you ever had till now, you would not surely have assumed the Confidence to have said as you do, (Pa. 11, 12.) That nothing less would satisfy the Parliament, than that he might be obliged, **AS IT WERE, and IN EFFECT**, to beg the Members Pardon for wronging them, with whom he thought, and **COULD BY GOOD EVIDENCE PROVE MATTER OF TRUTH.** Now I do (**AS IT WERE**) think that you ought (not only **IN EFFECT**, but in earnest) to humble your self to the Descendants of these *honourable* and never to be forgotten **FATHERS**, for the horrid Slander which you here lay on their great Names and Families: For, *the late King gave us the Cause*, saying, that **HE FOUND GOOD REASON** wholly to *desist from proceeding to prosecute them*; and at another time, that he found **GOOD CAUSE** wholly to *desist any Prosecution of them*: Yet, you forsake, and keep up the wicked Custom, and silly inform this Generation, that his Majesty, **GOOD HEAVN!** had *pregnant Evidence* to prove them guilty of *Treason*. But, to you you to *swear if possible* ('tis what you threatened me with, Reverend Sir?) I shall add a few words more upon this occasion. The Lords and Commons told the King in a *third Petition*, that notwithstanding his Majesty found good cause wholly to *desist any further Prosecution of the accused Members*; yet they remained still under that heavy Charge so imputed to them. And that by two Acts of Parliament, viz. 37 and 38 Edw. 3. it was enacted, That if any Person whatsoever make Suggestion to **THE KING HIMSELF** of any Crime committed by another, the said Person ought to do first with the Suggestion before the Chancellor or Keeper of the Great Seal, Treasurer, or the great Council: *That he find Surety to pursue his Suggestion, which if he cannot prove, he is to be imprisoned till he satisfy the Party accused of his Damages and Slander, and make Fine and Ransom to the King.* Wherefore the

A Petition of about two thousand Attachees of *Buckingham* were presented to the King, saying forth, that Mr. Hamden, Knight of that Shire, (a Gentleman in high Esteem with them and the whole Kingdom) was accused of *Treason*; that they believed it to be the Malice which his Zeal to his Majesty's Service and the State had contracted in the Enemies to the King, the Church and the Commonwealth, had occasioned this foul Accusation; and they prayed that he and the other Members might enjoy the Privileges of Parliament.

The City of London also petitioned, that the Lord Mandeville and the five Members might not be restrained of Liberty, or proceeded against otherwise than according to the Privileges of Parliament.

London.

Lords and Commons beseeched the King, that he would be pleased to send the Person or Persons, that in this Case made the Suggestion or Information to him, against the said Members, together with the Suggestions or Informations to the Parliament, that in such Fruits of the said good Laws may be had, as was intended by them; and the Rights and Privileges of Parliament may be vindicated, WHICH OF RIGHT AND JUSTICE OUGHT NOT TO BE DENIED.

Notwithstanding this *Pleading*, no *Answers* nor *Witnesses* were ever produced, to avow the heavy Charge and Accusation of the noble Lord *Adamsville* and the five *Members*, till now, that fifty Years are elapsed; You, unhappy *Deputy*, are trumping up good *Excuses*, though for want of just Matter, which yet never came to light; the King let the Business fall of his own accord. And see now how neatly you have noon'd your self, for, by your *idle Dedication* to their *Majesties*, you have made this *false Suggestion TO THE KING HIMSELF*, and so are fallen into the Mercy of the noble *Earl of Manchester*, and become liable to the severe Penalties in the *Statutes* of *King Edward the Third*.

To dispatch this Head, Was it not a Crime against the Law of Nature, against the Rules of Justice, that innocent Men should be charged with to great an Offence as Treason, in the Face of the highest Indignation in the Kingdom, without Witnesses, without any possibility of Reparation, even in point of Innocency? Such was the Case of these great Men; for the King *denied to discover their Accusers*, and yet would not pass a *Bill* for their Discharge, unless in the *Narration* they would desert the avowing their own Innocency. Nay, was it not an *Act of Tyranny* beyond Parallel? He accused them, and yet would produce no Witnesses; he confess'd them clear in his own Judgment, yet they could not profess their own Innocency, for fear of wounding his Honour.

We will proceed now, *Reverend Deputy*, to what remains to be said, about the *corrupting Tumults and Riots* which frightened his *Majesty* from *Parliament*. You said, that he withdrew from thence through Tumults, and too much contempt of *Rites*, being under apprehension of *Assaults*, design'd to be offer'd to his Person, IF NOT SOMETHING WORSE. When you return me an Answer to this Letter, dear Sir, you will infinitely oblige me, if you will

tell

tell me, in plain English, what you intend by *SOMETHING WORSE*, than that the *Ass* would affront his Majesty's Royal Person? For, according to my present Apprehension, you seem to intimate, that HE *ABDICATED WHITEHALL*, under a dread that these wicked *Barons* would have forced his *COMFORTABLE IMPORTANCE*, or perpetrated some Act so highly Villanous, that you could not find a Name for it. For the present, till I have better Light herein, I will lay before you my Thoughts in this Case: On the doing whereof, we must examine how things stood at that time, whereby 'twill be seen, whether there were any such *Tumult*; and if there were, whether the King himself did not cause them?

He had *tempted the ENGLISH ARMY*, with no less Reward than the Spoil of the City of LONDON, to come up and destroy the *PARLIAMENT*: He had, in an unbecomable and hostile manner, made a most high Invasion upon the Privileges of BOTH HOUSES: Hereupon many Citizens, unarmed, resorted to Westminster to present their Petitions, and express their steadfastness to the Parliament, whose Lives and Safeties, by more than slight Rumours, they doubted to be in Danger: the King having furnished *Whitehall*, and entertained Armed Men, not a few, planted them at the * Gate of his Palace, where they reviled, menaced, and with drawn Swords actually wounded many of the Citizens, as they passed by in a peaceable manner, whereof some died. Nay, they went farther, and were come to that height of Boldness, as to give out insolent and menacing Speeches against the *Parliament* it self, and to imbrue their Hands in the Blood of the King's Subjects in *Westminster-Hall*, and at the Doors of the *Parliament*, as well as at his own Gate. And when the *Parliament* and People complained, and demanded Justice for those Assaults, he justified and abetted his own Crew in what they did.

Now, the passing by of a multitude of the King's Subjects, armed with no other *Weapons* than Petitions, could neither be justly called *Tumults*, nor could the *Parliament* have forbid them, without breach of the Peoples Freedom: Unarmed Petitioners surely could not be formidable to any: And I must remember you, Doctor, that a very short time before his Majesty pretended to dread these tumultuary Citizens, The City *entreated, besought, and conducted him to Whitehall*, with as pompous Solemnity, and costly Expressions of Love and Duty, as ever had been known. Nay, did he

* The first Blood that was drawn in this Cause, was in that very place where the King's own Blood was afterwards shed.

1 K. 21, 19.

not the very next day, after his irruption in the House of Commons, than which nothing had more exasperated the People, *as in his Clash upon the City?* Did he receive the least affront, much less Violence in any of the Streets, but rather humble Dememeanours and Supplications? He knew the People so full of Awe and Reverence to his Person, as to commit himself single amongst the thickest of them, at a time when he had most provoked them: This shews, beyond doubting, that *all his fear of Tionals, was but a meer Pretence and Occasion taken, of his resolved absence from the Parliament, that he might earn his Slaughtering at the Court-gate, to Slaughtering in the Field.* Well,

The King retires first to Hampton-Court, commanding his Servants, who were Members of Parliament, to leave their Service there, and to give their Attendance upon his Person. Shortly after, the QUEEN passes into Holland, carrying with her all, or the greatest part of the Crown Jewels, which she immediately pawn'd, and with the Money bought Arms and Ammunition for the VVat, which was not yet begun.

Page 8.

But I had almost forgot my self, Reverend Sir, I must attend to what you say in the Case; Tis this; Hee The King, though withdrawn, yet craves not to call upon the Parliament to consider the Nation's Good, and the settling it upon such Foundations, as neither the Monarch might invade the just Rights of the People, nor the People encroach upon the Rights of his Crown and Dignity. Having said this, you intimate that he told them something upon their presenting Petitions to him at Theobalds and New-Market. Then it seems that they called upon him likewise, and 'tis fit my Countrymen should know for what, seeing you do maliciously withhold it.

Upon the 1st of March 1641, BOTH HOUSES CALLED UPON HIS MAJESTY, by their Petition presented at Theobalds; That for the dispatch of the great Affairs of the Kingdom, the Safety of his Person, the Protection and Comfort of his Subjects, he would be pleased to continue his Abode near the Parliament, and not to withdraw himself to any the remoter Parts; which if he should do, must needs be a cause of great Danger and Distraction: And they prayed him to accept this humble Counsel, as the Effect of that Duty and Allegiance which they owed unto him; and which would not suffer them to admit of any Thoughts, Intentions or Endeavours, but such as were necessary and advantageous for his Majesties Greatness and Honour,

your, and the Safety and Prosperity of the Kingdom: Expressions, surely, that do not in the least favour of that Sedition and Rebellion, with which at this time, by you, Doctor, and many other WICKED Clergy-men, the Memory of this great Parliament is charged.

The King being deaf to the importunate Supplication of the Lords and Commons for his Return: They again called upon him more earnestly, sending after him a Declaration to Newmarket, by the Earls of Pembroke and Holland, and a Committee of the Commons, wherein they laid before him the Causes of their own Fears and Resolutions in these Particulars.

1. That the design of altering Religion had been potently carried on by those in greatest Authority about him, the Queen's Agent at Rome, the Pope's Nuncio here, are not only Evidences of this Design, but have been great Actors in it.

2. That the War with Scotland was procured to make way for this Intent, and chiefly fomented by the Papists, and other Popishity affected, whereof we have many Evidences.

3. That the Rebellion in Ireland was framed and contrived here in England; and that the English Papists should have risen about the same time, who have several Testimonies, &c. The Irish Rebels affirm, that they do nothing but by Authority from the King; they call themselves the Queen's Army: The Boory which they take from the English, they mark with the Queen's mark; and it is proved that their purpose was to come to England, after they had done in Ireland.

4. The labouring to infuse into your Majesty's Subjects an evil Opinion of the Parliament, and other Symptoms of a Disposition of raising Arms, and dividing your People by a Civil War, in which Combustion Ireland must needs be lost, and this Kingdom miserably wasted and consumed, if not wholly ruined and destroyed.

5. That your Majesty sent away the Lord Darcy by your own Warrant beyond the Sea, after a Vote had passed in the House of Commons, declaring that he had appeared in a Warlike manner at Kingston upon Thames, to the Terror of your Majesty's good Subjects; that he being so got beyond Sea, he vented his traiterous Conceptions, That your Majesty should declare your Self, and retire to a place of Strength, and intimated some Service which he might do in those Parts;

whereby in probability, he intended the procuring of some Foreign Force to strengthen your Majesty, in that Condition into which he would have brought you; which malicious Counsel we have great Cause to doubt, made too deep an Impression in your Majesty, CONSIDERING THE COURSE YOU ARE PLEASED TO TAKE, OF ABSENTING YOUR SELF FROM YOUR PARLIAMENT, and carrying the Prince with you, which seems to express a purpose in your Majesty to keep your self in a readiness for the doing of it.

6. The manifold Alterations which we have had from Rome, Venice, Paris, and other parts, that they still expect that your Majesty has some great Design in hand for the altering of Religion, the breaking the Neck of your Parliament, and that you will yet find means to compass that Design: That the Pope's Nuncio hath followed the Kings of France and Spain to send your Majesty word after word, to help to maintain your Loyalty against the Parliament.

These are some of the grounds of our Fears and Jealousies, which made us to earnestly to implore your Royal Authority and Protection for our Defence and Security in all the ways of Humility and Submission, which being denied by your Majesty, We do with sorrow apply our selves to the use of that

* The Militia.

Power, which, by the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, resides in us; yet still resolving to keep our selves within the Bounds of Patience and Allegiance to your Sacred Person and your Crown.

And as to the Fears and Jealousies which his Majesty feared to have entertained of them: The Lords and Commons thus answered:

We have, according to your Majesty's Desires, laid our Hands upon our Hearts; we have asked our selves in the strictest Examination of our Consciences, we have searched our Affections, our Thoughts; considered our Actions, and can find none that can give your Majesty any just occasion to absent your self from Whitehall and the Parliament; but that you may with more Honour and Safety continue there, than in any other place.

Your Majesty lays a general Charge upon us: if you will be graciously pleased to let us know the Particulars, we shall give a clear and satisfactory Answer. But what hope can we have of ever giving your Majesty Satisfaction, when those Particulars which you have been made believe were true; yet being produced and made known

known to us, appeared to be false; and your Majesty notwithstanding, will neither punish nor produce the Authors; but go on to contract new Jealousies and Fears, upon general and uncertain grounds, affording us no means or possibility of particular Answer, to the clearing of our selves.

WE BESEECH YOUR MAJESTY TO CONSIDER IN WHAT STATE YOU ARE, how easy and fair a way you have to Happiness, Honour and Greatness, Plenty and Security; if you will join with the Parliament in the Defence of The Religion and publick Good of the Kingdom; THIS IS ALL WE EXPECT FROM YOU; and for this we return to you our Lives, Fortunes and utmost Eadeavours to support your Majesty, your just Sovereignty and Power over us; but IT IS NOT WORDS THAT CAN SECURE US in these our humble Desires; We cannot but too well and sorrowfully remember what GRACIOUS MESSAGES we had from you this Summer, when WITH YOUR PRIVACY, the bringing up the Army was in Agitation: We cannot but with the like Affections, recal to our Minds, how not two days before your own coming to the Commons House, you sent a GRACIOUS MESSAGE, that you would always have care of their Priviledges, as of your own Privileges; of the Safety of their Persons, as of your own Children; that which we expect, which will give us assurance, that you have no thought but of Peace and Justice to your People, must be some real Effect of your Goodness to them, in granting those things which the present Necessity of the Kingdom do enforce us to desire: And that you will be graciously pleased to put from you those mischievous Counsellars, which have caused all these Dangers and Distractions, and to continue your own Residence and the Princes, near London and the Parliament, which we hope will be a happy beginning of Contentment and Confidence betwixt your Majesty and your People; and be followed with many succeeding Blessings of Honour and Greatness to your Majesty, and of Security and Prosperity to them.

These are brief Heads, good Doctor, of the Declaration which you mention to be read to the King at Newmarket; and you, with very little regard to his Majesty's Honour, do affirm, that after the hearing this Declaration read, he expostulated in these words: What would you have? Have I violated your Laws? Were you so well read in the History of that Day, as you pretend to be,

be, this his strong *Expofition* with the *Lords and Commons*, would never have found room in your *Presence* of the *King*, for his high violation of the *Laws* were too well known to the whole *World*, to be denied; and you, by *Majesty's Defence*, would never have revived the thing, had you remembered the short, but most pertinent Reply which both *Houses* made thereto, in these words; *We are heartily sorry we have such plentiful matter of an Answer to that Question, HAVE I VIOLATED YOUR LAWS?*

Pag. 9.

You proceed, Sir, saying, That the *Applications* from the two *Houses* at this time, were for **NOTHING LESS** than the *MILITIA*. You are out again, Doctor, and would I use the *Royal Language*, wherewith the *Earl of Holland* was interrupted by the *King* in reading the *Declaration* to him at *Newmarket*, I might, with more Truth than he did say, **THAT'S FALSE, FIRST & SECOND**. For in recounting some Particulars of the *Declaration* I have demonstrated, that their *Application* was also for other and less Matters than the *Militia*; they humbly petitioned him to put away his wicked Counsellors; and to return to his *Parliament*.

You add, That the *King* continuing steadfast to his *Resolution*, and **DEAF TO ALL THEIR IMPORTUNITIES**, [The want of Ears, I must tell you; Reverend Sir, cost him his Head at last] telling them, That he would not part with his *Militia* for an Hour. I must help you a little in this part of the Story too; The *Earl of Pembroke* ask'd him, Whether the *Militia* might now be granted, as was desired by the *Parliament* for a year? **HIS MAJESTY SWARE, BY GOD, NOT FOR AN HOUR**. This shews him a little more stubbornly steadfast than you would tell the *World*; however, you told too much in this place, or his Majesty resolv'd and swore too fast; for afterwards you say, That at the *Treaty at Uxbridge*, *His Majesty* consented that the *Militia*, for three Years, should be in the hands of twenty Commissioners, the one half to be nominated by the two *Houses*.

Pag. 20.

Pag. 9.

Your next words are these, **THE MILITIA THEY MUST HAVE, OR THE NATION IS UNDONE**.

The State of the Kingdom at that Day considered, there never fell from your Pen a greater Truth than what you have here delivered; for, besides the particular Instances which I have already given you of the *King's* Invasion of the *Privileges* of the *Parliament*, of the *Rights* of the *People*, and of his *Preparations*

for

for War against them; I must here inform you, that in the beginning of the Year 1621, a time when the King was, in appearance, transacting Matters amicably with the two Houses; and we seem'd to be in a deep Peace; a time when he declar'd, that he had receiv'd no other carriage from his Parliament, than what he profess'd himself satisfi'd with; and that if the Bills he had pass'd, were again to be offer'd, he should cheerfully and readily assent unto them; even then he dispatch'd away Letters, and an Agent to the King of Denmark, complaining of the Parliament, and asking Supplies from thence, *LAD. PROULS ANDOS HOSTES*, you know the English of that is, *to subdue his Enemies*; and declar'd himself in these words, *ad alia Consilia Animum convertendum duximus; Nos resolve to break our self to new Counsels*; the very words he us'd to the Parliament in the Year 1628.

Further, upon the Discovery of his Plot to bring up the English Army against the Parliament, he turn'd to the Scottish Army, then at Newcastle, and baited his Temptation with a rich Reward, not only to have 300000 l. in hand; and the Spoil of London, but four Northern Counties to be made Scottish. Moreover, to encourage them to joyn with him, he declar'd to them, that he was to have Money and Horse from Denmark, and that he would make York the place of his Residence, for the better Accommodation of both Nations, or fuller Revenge upon London: He also gather'd Men in London, under pretence of raising Forces for Portugal, who were to possess themselves of the Tower. The Queen in Holland was buying Arms, and his Majesty had actually rais'd Forces in divers Counties: The Parliament was all this time petitioning in Peace: And for the Reasons now assign'd, amongst many others, They humbly besought him, that he would be pleas'd to put the Tower of London and the Militia into the hands of such Persons as should be recommended to him by both Houses of Parliament. The King seem'd to comply herein, and by his Answer promis'd them, that the Militia should be put into such hands as they should approve of, or recommend to him: hereupon both Houses nominat'd Persons of the greatest Honour, as fit for that Trust; to give you the Names of some of them, the Earls of Holland, Rutland, Bedford, Bullingbrook, Salisbury, Warwick, Pembroke, Leicester, Stamford, Essex, Clare, Northumberland, Lincoln, Suffolk, &c. Lords, Paget, North, Strange, Roberts, Grey of Werk, Chandos, Dacres, Mandeuvre, Wharton, Spencer, Brook, Herbert,

Herbert, Fielding, Littleton, Lord Keeper, &c. Men eminent in all Qualifications of Honour and Sufficiency were recommended for several *Counsellors*, and the King was desired to agree therunto, as he had promised; upon his delaying to give a satisfactory Answer, they again petition him to give such an Answer as might raise in them a Confidence that they should not be exposed to the Persecutions of those who thirst after the Ruin of the Kingdom, and the kindling that Combustion in England which they had effected in Ireland: That nothing could enable them to suppress **THE REBELLION IN IRELAND**, and secure England, but the granting of their humble Petition; which they find so absolutely necessary for the preservation of the King and Common-wealth; that the *Laws of God and Man* injoin them to see it put in Execution. They again by a Petition presented at *Thorbalds*, *March 1, 1641.* intreated him, that he would at last be pleased to grant their necessary Petition concerning the *Militia*, and declared, that if he refused to do it in these times of Distraction, they must be enforced to dispose of it for the Safety of the Kingdom, in such manner as had been propounded to his Majesty. They followed him with the same humble Supplication, in his several Removes to *Tock*; but **HE HAVING ABDICATED the Parliament, and BEING DEAF** (as you most ingenuously confess) **TO ALL THEIR IMPORTUNITIES**, they declared, that there had been of late a most desperate Design upon the House of Commons, which they had just cause to believe was an Effect of the **BLOODY COUNSELS of PAPISTS**, and other ill-affected Persons, who had already raised **A REBELLION IN IRELAND**, and by reason of many Discoveries, they could not but fear they would proceed, not only to stir up the like **REBELLION AND INSURRECTION** in this Kingdom, but also to back them with Forces from abroad; and thereupon both Houses made an Ordinance for the ordering the *Militia* of England and Wales; there appearing an urgent and inevitable Necessity for putting his Majesty's Subjects in a Posture of Defence for the Safeguard of both his Majesty and the People. And they **RESOLVED**, that in this case of extreme Danger, and of his Majesty's refusal, the Ordinance agreed to by both Houses for the *Militia*, doth oblige the People, and **ought to be obeyed** by the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom. They further about that time, **RESOLVED**, That the King's Absence so far remote from his Parliament, was not only an Obstruction, but **MIGHT BE A DESTRUCTION** to the Affairs of Ireland. And

And now, Sir, Having said before you the Grounds of the
 Parliament's proceeding On this Bill, On the Justice of the
 Cause, I will shew you how much higher our *Commons* were
 than we did in 1601. They rose by their Courage and Sero-
 rity of Zeal to Justice, and their Native Liberty, against
 the proud Contempt and Mis-rule of their King; that when
 RICHARD the Second departed out from a Committee of
 Lords, who sat preparing Matters for the Parliament, they re-
 quired the King, then withdrawn no further off than the Tower,
 to come to Westminster, WHICH HE REFUSING, THEY
 FLATLY TOLD HIM, THAT UNLESS HE CAME,
 THEY WOULD CHOOSE ANOTHER KING. So high a
 Crime it was accounted then, for a King to absent himself; much
 less would they have suffered, that a King should leave his
 Regal Station, and the whole Kingdom, bleeding to Death of
 those Wounds, which his own unskilful and perverse Government
 had made. Yet, WE IN OUR DAY were not their *Angels*.
 THE KING HAD ABDICATED; our Religion, Laws, and
 Liberties were threatened with most imminent Danger, from intestine
 Parties, and Foreign Forces; WE only made a most necessary Provi-
 sion, that our own Swords should not be employed to the Destruction of
 all that we do love. And pray, what harm, what Rebellion,
 was there in all this?

THE next thing you seek with in your Defence, REVEREND
 DOCTOR, is this: Before the War actually broke out, the King
 was gone to York, hoping thereby to COOL THE HEATS that
 were at LONDON, and in some little time TO BE INVITED
 back, to live with more Honour and Safety, than he did before.

The King in truth went to York in a high Chase, hoping for
 something beyond and contrary to what you intimate; 'twas
 in hopes that to enable himself the better for that dismal War,
 which he had resolved upon, he might possess himself of Hull,
 a Town of great Strength, and most advantageously situated,
 both for Sea and Land Affairs; and which was at that time
 the Magazine of all the Arms which he had bought with Money
 most illegally extorted from his Subjects, to use in a causeless and
 most unjust Civil War against his Subjects of Scotland: Did he
 hope for an Invitation back to London? Why, he had that very
 often made to him, in a most humble and earnest manner, in
 particular by a Petition of the Lords and Commons, presented

Pag. 10.

to him at York, the 10th of March, 1641. They humbly desired and beseeched him, that **FOR THE RECOVERY OF IRELAND,** and securing this Kingdom, he would be graciously pleased, with all convenient speed, to remove to London, and to close with the Consent of his Parliament, whom he should find their desired Affections and Endeavours ready to attend him, with such Entertainments, as should not only give him just cause of Security in those English Affairs, but other manifest Evidence of their hearty and Endeavours to advance his Majesty's Service, Honour, and Contentment, and to establish upon the firm Foundation of the Peace and Prosperity of his Kingdom. **EXPRESSIONS, surely Doth, THAT DO NOT IN THE LEAST SAVOUR OF REBELLION AND TREASON.** The said King, instead of hearkning to this dutiful Petition and Application, summoned the Gentry of that County to attend him at York, where he made the most bitter Invectives against the Parliament, and stirred them up to raise Horse and Foot for his Service. His Majesty found his few Gentlemen to comply with his Demand of raising Men, tho' made under the pretence of a Guard. The greater part of the Gentlemen, and above thousands of Freeholders, gave him an Answer under their hands to this effect, We humbly beseech your Majesty to impart the grounds of your Power and Jealousy to your High Court of Parliament (OF WHOSE MOST LOTAL CARE AND AFFECT-
 201 ON TO YOUR MAJESTY'S HONOUR AND SAFETY WE ARE MOST CONFIDENT) and WHAT SOEVER SHALL BE ADVISED BY YOUR GREAT COUNCIL, we shall most willingly embrace, and give our Consent and Assistance to it, as shall become us. **And WE ARE MOST ASSURED,** that your Royal Person shall be secure in the general Fidelity of your Subjects of this County without any extraordinary GUARD.

The King was presented the next day with a Petition from many thousands, who justly rated themselves pestered affected Subjects in the County of York, in which they speak thus: That many of them in their late Desires of petitioning your Majesty, were denied Access; kept back with Violence, and affronted by some who had Dependence on your Majesty, and were threatened, that **WHEN YOUR MAJESTY'S ARMS SHOULD BE ON FOOT,** those should be first pillaged that refused to subscribe to the raising of Forces; which we humbly conceive are **POSITIVE CON-**

CONTRARY TO YOUR MAJESTY'S OWN EXPRESSIONS, &c.

We humbly supplicate your Majesty, to cast your Eye upon the present State of this your Kingdom. — We are confident that no so absolute and hearty Obedience to your Majesty's just Commands can be demonstrated, as what your Majesty in Parliament shall declare; which IF IT BECOME DIVIDED, (as God forbid) our Hearts even tremble to consider the Dangers and Diminution of the Honour and Safety your Majesty's Posterity and Kingdoms will unavoidably be put upon. Since it is clear to every Understanding, that IT IS NOT A DIVIDED PART OF ONE OR SEVERAL COUNTIES TH AT can afford that Honour and Safety to your Majesty, AS THE WHOLE KINGDOM, WHICH TOO THAT COMMAND, no ground of Fear or Danger remaining, if a good Confidence were betwixt your Majesty and your Parliament; whose grave and loyal Counsels are, we humbly conceive, the wisest way, under God, to put a speedy end to the Troubles of Ireland, and establish your Throne in Righteousness.

We most humbly supplicate, that we may represent our Confidence to become Judges between your Majesty and Parliament, in any thing, or dispute the Authority of either, which we humbly conceive do justify each other. — We shall be ready to maintain your Majesty's just Rights, the Privileges and Power of Parliaments, and the lawful Liberties of the Subjects.

I have now shown you, Dearest, that the King wanted not Invitations to return and live in Honour and Safety at London: The Parliament importunately pressed it, the Gentlemen and Freeholders of Yorkshire, humbly supplicated it: But nothing is more certain, than that instead of hoping to see the Heats at London, by retiring to York; 'twas his sole purpose and intention to put that Country and the whole Kingdom into a Flame, as he quickly did; and pursuant to that Design, having rejected with Scorn, the Petitions I have mentioned, he persisted in his former way of raising Forces, and made Proclamation, requiring all Gentlemen and others of that County to attend him in Arms.

The Lords and Commons, wisely foreseeing the impending Mischief, and observing the Clouds to gather so fast, and threaten a Storm, they so wisely endeavoured to prevent it; and therefore passed a Vote, May 20, 1642, That it appears the King (seduced

(seduced by wicked Counsel) intends to make War against the Parliament; who in all their Consultations and Actions, have proposed no other end unto themselves but the Care of his Kingdom, and the performance of all Duty and Loyalty to his Person.

2. That whensoever the King maketh War upon the Parliament, it is a Breach of the Trust reposed in him by his People, contrary to his Oath, and tending to the Dissolution of the Government.

3. That whosoever shall serve or assist him in such War, are Traitors by the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, and have been so adjudged by two Acts of Parliament, and ought to suffer as Traitors. 1. Rich. 2. 1 Hen. 4.

Page 10.

But I will hear you, Sir, upon this Point of the first Beginning of the unnatural and bloody War, you suggest that he was forced to raise an Army, which was after the Parliament had voted a Necessity of War with him.

Will you never leave your Doctor? The Parliament did not vote a necessity of a War. They indeed voted, as I told you but now, That it appeared that the King intended to make War against them; and it was near two Months afterwards, viz. the 12th of July 1642, that the Lords and Commons (finding his Majesty to persist in that intention) and that they should do forthwith raised for the Safety of the King's Person, Defence of both Houses of Parliament, and preserving of the true Religion, the Laws, Liberty, and the Peace of the Kingdom. Then the Earl of Essex should be General, and that they did not and did not vote him in this Cause; and that the Earl of Bedford should be General of the Horse. Nevertheless they resolved that a Petition should be presented to his Majesty, by the Earl of Holland, Sir John Holland, and Sir Philip Stapleton, to move the King to a good Accord with his Parliament, to prevent a Civil War, which was to the effect following.

Although, We your Majesty's most humble and faithful Subjects, the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, have been very unhappy in many former Petitions to your Majesty; and with much Sorrow do perceive that your Majesty, incensed by many false Calumnies and Slanders, doth continue to raise Forces against us, and to make great Preparations for War, both in the Kingdom and from beyond the Seas; yet such is our earnest desire of discharging our Duty to your Majesty and the Kingdom,

dom, to preserve the Peace thereof, and to prevent the Miseries of Civil War: That notwithstanding we hold our selves bound to use all the Means and Power, which by the Laws and Constitutions of this Kingdom we are trusted with, for Defence and Protection thereof, and of the Subjects from Force and Violence; We do in this our humble and loyal Petition, prostrate our selves at your Majesty's Feet, beseeching that you will forbear and remove all Preparations and Actions of War. That you will come nearer to your Parliament, and hearken to their faithful Advice and humble Petitions, which shall only tend to the Defence and Advancement of Religion, your own Royal Honour and Safety, the preservation of our Laws and Liberties: And we have been, and ever shall be careful to prevent and punish all Tumults and seditious Actions, Speeches and Writings, which may give your Majesty just cause of Dislike, or apprehension of Danger.

And we, for our Parts, shall be ready to lay down all those Preparations which we have been forced to make for our Defence. And for the *Town of Hull*, and the *Ordinances* concerning the *Militia*, as we have in both these Particulars, only sought the preservation of the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Defence of the Parliament from Force and Violence; so we shall most willingly leave the *Town of Hull* in the state it was before *Sir John Hotham* drew any Fortes into it, delivering your Majesty's *Magazine* into the *Tower of London*: We shall be ready to settle the *Militia* by a Bill, in such a way as shall be honourable and safe for your Majesty, most agreeable to the Duty of Parliament, and effectual for the Good of the Kingdom, that the Strength thereof be not employed against it self, and that which ought to be for our Security, applied to our Destruction. And that the Parliament, and those who profess and defend still to preserve the Protestant Religion, both in this Realm, and in *Ireland*, may not be left naked and indefensible, to the mischievous Designs and cruel Attempts of those who are the professers and confederate Enemies thereof, in your Majesty's Dominions, and other Neighbour Nations: To which, if your Majesty's Counsel and Counsels shall from henceforth concur. We doubt not but we shall quickly make it appear to the World, by the most eminent Effects of Love and Duty, That your Majesty's personal Safety, your Royal Honour and Greatness, are much dearer to us than our

own Lives and Fortunes, which we do most heartily dedicate, and shall most willingly employ for the support and maintenance thereof.

And now, Sir, I appeal to you, and to all the World, whether these Men talk of Liberty, as though they were resolved to make War, and engage all into their own Hands, let what would become of the King? as a certain Alder Doctor of Divinity fairly accuses the Lords and Commons. Thanks be to God, Sir John Holland (as well as Sir John Pringle) is yet alive in Norfolk, in perfect Health and Understanding; and is ready to give the same account I have here given you, to any Man that asks him about it.

Pag. 10.

What say you next, Mr. Chaplain at Alder? Why, To let the World see what the King aimed at, He does assure the Gentlemen, whose Loyalty engaged them early on his Side, and does promise them, in the Presence of Almighty God, and as he hopes for his Blessing and Protection, that he would, to the utmost of his Power, defend and maintain the true Protestant Religion established in the Church of England.

You almost provoke me, Doctor, to draw up a Petition to your Right Honourable and Right Reverend Diocesan, to suspend you from writing DEFENCES, till you swear to do them honestly; then and not till then, we may hope for the Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth; I am credibly informed, that there was something more in this Speech, than you are willing to acknowledge; 'Tis the same, I take it for granted, that his Majesty made at the Head of his Army, between Stafford and Wallingford, the 10th of September 1642. He then had these Expressions also; The time cannot be long before we come to Action——You shall meet with no Enemies, but TRAITORS, MOST OF THEM BROW-NISTS, ANABAPTISTS AND ATHEISTS. These were the Words of a King, I shall not therefore reflect further upon them, than to ask you, upon the Oath which you are to take, Whether you do in your Conscience believe, that the Great, the Good, the pious King, spake Truth here? Whether he had not more Atheists and Papists in his Army, than the Parliament had Brownists and Anabaptists in theirs?

Pag. 12.

Your next Effort is this; You fall upon the Consideration of the Steps his Majesty made towards Peace, and thus express your self; Truly, I think, ACCORDING TO MY POOR JUDGMENT, he now Acts according to what he always pretended, and solemnly avowed; to wit, as a true Father of his Country; for he proposes, That HIS REVENUE, MAGAZINES, TOWNS, SHIPS

SETPS AND FORTS may be referred to him, and all should be well.

Now I will readily agree, that there is here and there found a Dealer, nay a Glapthorpe, of a poor Judgment; but one would think, that he that is conscious of his own Weakness and Incapacity, should not assume the Arrogance to judge in Matters of Right between Princes and their People. And I will here tell you, what better Heads than you or I ever were, said upon this Point. The Opinion of the Parliament was, That his Majesty's Towns were no more his own, than his Kingdom is his own; and his Kingdom is no more his own, than his People are his own. And if the King had a Propriety in all his Towns, what would become of the Subjects Property in their Houses & Towns? And if he had a Propriety in his Kingdom, what would become of the Subjects Property in their Lands throughout the Kingdom, or of their Liberties, if his Majesty had the same Right in their Persons, that every Subject hath in his Lands? This ERRONEOUS MAXIM being infused into Princes, THAT THEIR KINGDOMS ARE THEIR OWN; and that they may do with them what they will, (AS IN THEIR KINGDOMS were for them, and not they for their Kingdoms) is the Root of all the Subjects Misery, and of the invading of their just Rights and Liberties; whereas INDEED THEY ARE ONLY INTRODUCED with their Kingdoms, and with their Towns, and with their People, and with the Publick Treasures of the Common-Wealth, and whatsoever is bought & sold therein; with the Honour & Law of the Kingdom, the VERY JEWELS OF THE CROWN are not the King's PROPER Goods, but are only intrusted unto him for the Use and Ornament thereof; as the Towns, Forts, Treasures, Magazines, Offices and the People of the Kingdom; and the whole Kingdom is self is intrusted unto him, for the Good, Safety, and best Advantage thereof. And AS THIS TRUST IS FOR THE USE OF THE KINGDOM, SO IT OUGHT TO BE MANAGED BY THE ADVICE OF THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, whom the Kingdom hath trusted for that purpose, it being their Duty so far as it be discharged, according to the condition and true intention thereof, and as much as in them lies, by all possible means to prevent the contrary.

Not to enquire what you, Sir, in your poor Judgment do think of this high Principle, I will move, with what speed I can, to a Conclusion: I told you, not long since, That the Lords and Com-

mons:

most, vouch the raising an Army to be commanded by the Earl of
 Essex; and at the same time humbly (but in vain) supplicated
 the King for Peace; and returned his Parliament. When the
 General marched with his Forces towards the Army raised against
 the Parliament and Kingdom: He was instructed to fight at such
 Time and Place as he should judge most to conduce to the Peace
 and Safety of the Kingdom, but was also commanded to cause a
 Petition of such House to be presented to his Majesty; wherein
 they thus expressed themselves.

We cannot, without great grief and tenderness of Com-
 passion, behold the pressing Miseries, the imminent Dangers, the
 dreadful Calamities which do extremely threaten the King-
 doms of England and Ireland, by the practice of a Party pre-
 vailing with your Majesty, who by many wicked Plots and Con-
 spiracies, have attempted the alteration of the true Religion, and
 the ancient Government of this Kingdom, and the introducing of
POPISH IDOLATRY AND SUPERSTITION in the CHURCH,
 and **TYRANNY and CONFUSSION in the STATE.** And for
 the compassing thereof, have long corrupted your Majesty's
 Councils, abused your Power, and by sudden and untimely dis-
 solving of the former Parliaments, have often hindered the Re-
 formation and Prevention of those Mischiefs; and being now
 disabled to avoid the Endeavours of this Parliament, by any
 such Means, have **TRAITEROUSLY** attempted to overthrow the
 same by Force: And in prosecution of their wicked Designs
 have **EXCITED, ENCOURAGED AND FOSTERED** an insur-
 rectional **REBELLION in IRELAND;** and have drawn your
 MAJESTY to make War against your Parliament, as if you in-
 tended, by **CONQUEST,** to establish an **ABSOLUTE MON-**
ARCHY over them.

And by **YOUR POWERS** and the countenance of your Presence,
 have **SPOILED, IMPRISONED, MURDERED** divers
 of your People. And for their better assistance in these wicked
 Designs, do seek to bring over the Rebels of Ireland to join with
 them. **WE HAVE,** for the just and necessary Defence of this
 Protestant Religion, of your Majesty's Person, of the Laws, and
 Liberties of the Kingdom, and the Priviledg and Power of Parlia-
 ment; **TAKEN UP ARMS,** and appointed Robert Earl of
 Essex to be Captain General of all the Forces by us raised; and

to head and conduct the same against their REBELS and
 TROUBLED, and thereby bring and bring to condemn Pa-

And do most humbly beseech your Majesty to withdraw your
 Royal Presence and Countenance from these wicked Persons; and
 THAT YOUR MAJESTY WILL NOT MIX YOUR OWN
 DANGER WITH THEIRS, but in Peace and Safety, forth-

with return to your Parliament, and by their faithful Councils
 and Advice, compose the present Differences and Contentions
 bounding in both your Kingdoms, and provide for the Security
 and Honour of your Royal Person, and the prosperous Estate

of all your Subjects: And we do in the presence of Almighty
 God, profess, That we will strive your Majesty with all Honour,
 yield you all due Obedience and Affection, and faithfully endeav-

our to secure your Person and State from all Danger; and to
 the attainment of our Obedience, and Obedience to your Self,
 and to your People, with the Blessings of a glorious and happy
 Reign, and long Reigned; he saith, viz. that he

THE LORDS AND COMMONS TALKED
 LIKE CHRISTIANS. They were grieved at the Miseries of the
 Kingdom; They detested the Roush, Malignants. When they saw
 their Army against the Enemies of the King and Kingdom, they sup-

placate his Majesty not to mix his Danger with theirs, but to return
 in Peace to his Parliament, and compose the Differences of his King-
 dom, and provide for the Security and Honour of his Person.

THEY IN THE PRESENCE OF GOD PROFESS, that they
 would resolve him with all Honour, yield him all due Obedience, en-

deavour to secure him from Danger, and make his Reign Glorious
 and Happy; WHICH WORDS CERTAINLY ARE NOT THE
 WORDS OF TRAITORS. But all this would not do, for he

resolved to answer their Protestations in Blood, and proclaimed the
 Bar of Effect, &c. Yet, to blind the Eyes of the Multitude,
 and disguise his pernicious and obstinate Actions, under the sim-

blance of Peace and Justice, he made (as your Doctor, hath ob-

served) divers solemn Protestations, with fearful Imprecations up-
 on himself, and invocation of God's Holy Name; That he intended
 nothing but the Peace and Welfare of his People, the maintenance of
 Religion, and the Laws of the Kingdom; and for his own security
 only, to raise a Guard for his Person; and that he did from his
 Soul abhor the thought of making War against the Parliament, or

the Parliament upon this desire **OR** **PRETENDED** **Terror**, he **RAISED** **UP** **A** **GUARD** **IN** **THE** **PARLIAMENT** **HOUSE**, **AND** **UNDER** **SHADOW** **OF** **A** **GUARD** **IN** **THE** **PARLIAMENT** **HOUSE**, **RAISED** **UP** **AN** **ARMY**, **ON** **A** **STANDARD**, **OF** **THE** **STORY** **IS** **TOO** **LONG** **AND** **SAD** **FOR** **US** **TO** **RELATE** : **BUT** **WE** **KNOW** **OF** **THE** **FIRE**, **WHICH** **SINCE** **HATH** **BURNED** **ALMOST** **TO** **THE** **VERY** **FOUNDATION**, **AND** **WHO** **KNOWS** **WHEN** **IT** **WILL** **BE** **QUENCHED** ?

The Parliament feeling which way the Councils of the King
 steered, apprehended a necessity of raising Arms FOR THE
DEFENCE OF THEMSELVES AND THE KINGDOM.

—When the War was first commenced, their Army carried
 a Passion in the one Hand, as well as a Sword in the other, in
 which the Lords and Commons did **IN THE PRESENCE OF**
ALMIGHTY GOD protest, that if the Majesty did seriously
 return to his Parliament, &c. they did receive him with all Honour,
 yield him all due Subjection and Obedience, and faithfully endeavour
 to secure his Person and Estate from all Danger, and to his utmost
 of their Power to procure and establish to himself and his People
 all the Blessings of a glorious and happy Reign. **WE DID THEN**
VERIE BELIEVE AND YET DO that the same were the
 sincere and honest Intentions of the Lords and Commons; and
 altho the King was so unhappy as to reject their Petition, yet they
 persisted still in the same Loyalty of Intentions and Affections to-
 wards him, as appears in their many Messages to himself, and
 Declarations to the Kingdom.

Upon these Grounds we engaged in this **CAUSE**, being
 called to it by a lawful Authority. **THE TWO HOUSES OF**
PARLIAMENT, BEING THE ORDINANCE OF GOD
UNTO THIS NATION, FOR THE PREVENTING OF
TIRANNY, AND THE REGULATING OF THE EX-
ORBITANCIES OF REGAL POWER; and being convinced
 in our Judgement, both of the Equity and Necessity of **THE**
PARLIAMENT'S DEFENSIVE ARMS, &c.

WE APPEAL TO GOD the Searcher of all Hearts, to
 whom we must give an Account of all our Ways. **THAT**
THESE WERE THE GROUNDS OF OUR FIRST EN-
AGEMENT.

Now, Sir, to look back to your Defence of the King; I find
 you frequently glorying in his Majesty's oft-repeated Gracious
 Messages,

In a Letter to her of January 3, 1644, he writes thus. The
 Great Commission, have sent to the Lord a Commission to their
 General Assembly, WHICH I AM RESOLVED NOT TO
 DO, BUT to the end of making four of the same, and to be
 up an honest Man to be done, and who is to be the
 for the making a HANDSOME NEGATIVE, I have demanded
 a passport for Phil. Wormald, whom as Secretary of
 the

At another time in the same Month he writes thus.

* He had a my calling those at London * A PARLIAMENT. ^{which he} ~~had~~ ^{not} ~~done~~
 agreed to treat ~~HAD BEEN BUT TWO OF MY OPINION.~~ ^{I had not done}
 with them as a ~~THE CALLING DID NO WAYS. ACKNOWLEDG~~
 Parliament, the ~~THEM TO BE A PARLIAMENT~~ ^{with which I did not}
 Queen upbraided ~~CONSTITUTION I did not~~ ^{and accordingly it is required in the Council}
 him for so doing, and he ~~Books.~~ ^{of which you are now}
 thus vindicates ~~Nothing is more evident~~ ^{that the}
 himself, ~~that which you call the Church of England~~ ^{THE BISHOPS}

that which you call the Church of England. [THE BISHOPS
 were created by the King. By Letter in January 1644, before the be-
 coming of that Treaty, Shewing that he was not a Rebel, and that he
 had served him, lest they should be blamed by the King, he will
 have a word of his and their RELIGION. ^{upon which he will}
 RELIGION SHOULD BE THE LAST THING
 UPON WHICH HE SHOULD TREAT: for he is not
 upon his own, but the Church, and would disagree from it
 (see how) and if he were to be a Rebel, he could never
 expect Success, either FROM IRELAND, or any other CATHO-
 LICK PRINCE.

In another of her Letters we find her writing thus. Jan. 12
 1644. It is my desire that the Treaty shall be at Ixbridge.
 I RECEIVED YESTERDAY LETTERS FROM THE
 DUKE OF LORRAINE WHO SENDS ME WORD IS HIS
 SERVICE BE AGREABLE TO YOU HE WILL BRING
 YOU 1000 MEN TWO LABORS AND ^{as well} ~~as well~~ THE BISHOPS
 AS THE POOR CATHOLICKS.

By the Kings Letter to the Queen in February, when the
 Treaty at Ixbridge was depending, he styles the Parliament
 UNREASONABLE, STUBBORN, PERFIROUS, REBELS;
 presses her to hasten all possible Assistance to him, particularly that of
 the

the Duke of Lorrain has her, that the limited Age for treating
are now almost expired, without the least Agreement upon any
wise Article whatsoever. *(Note this for the Duke of Devon, THAT*
THE WHOLE TREATY MAY BE LAID OPEN TO
THE WORLD, & HE WILL ASSURE THEE THOU NEEDEST
NOT DOUBT THE ISSUE OF THIS TREATY, for MY
COMMISSIONERS ARE SO WELL CHOSEN, (tho I say it)
that they will neither be threatened nor disposed from the Ground
I have proposed, which (upon my word) IS ACCORDING
TO THE LITTLE NOTE THOU SO WELL REMEM-
BEREST. Be confident that in making Peace I shall ever show my
CONSTANCY IN ADHERING TO BISHOPS, AND ALL
OUR FRIENDS, and our safe return is short Period to the pre-
sented Parliament. I have commanded O'Connell to be ready to go by

We find him in another Letter dated the 5th of March, ex-
pressing himself in these words: I have thought of one means
more to furnish thee with for my Assistance, than hitherto thou hast
had; it is, that I GIVE THEE POWER TO PROMISE IN MY
NAME, THAT I will * take away all the Penal Laws against
the Roman Catholics in England, as soon as God shall enable me to
do so. I TO TELL THEE TO TELL HER, THAT I HAVE SENT
Another Letter to her, of the 20th of March, hath this Ex-
pression, I find that Thou much mistakes Me concerning Ireland;
I DESIRE NOTHING MORE THAN A PEACE there, and
never forbade thy Commerce there.

* If this were
so good a King,
Why so much
Clamour a-
gainst K. James
the Second for
designing the
same thing?

In relation to Ireland, he wrote to the Marquess of Ormond
to this effect, Jan. 7.

THE REBELS HERE have agreed to TREAT, AND MOST
ASSUREDLY ONE OF THE FIRST and chief ARTICLES
they will insist on will be, TO CONTINUE THE IRISH
WAR, WHICH IS A POINT NOT POPULAR FOR ME
TO BREAK ON; of which you are to make a double use: First,
TO HASTEN WITH ALL POSSIBLE DILIGENCE THE
PEACE THERE; the timely conclusion of which, will take off that
Inconvenience which otherwise I may be subject to, by the refusal of
that Article, upon any other Reason. Secondly, By dextrous con-
veying to the Irish, the Danger there may be of their total and
perpetual EXCLUSION FROM THOSE FAVOURS I
INTEND

INTEND THEM, in case THE REBELS hereafter should
with me, I thought I should shew them how I should
NOT DOUBTING OF A PEACE, I thought I should shew
you TO PRESS THE IRISH TO THE SPEEDY SUPPLY OF
before, and then I shall be Scotland. I DESIRE NO OTHER
RISH would find so great a Body as they can, to land about Cam-
berland, WHICH WILL PUT THOSE NORTHERN COUN-
TIES IN A BRAVE CONDITION.

Upon the 14th of January, he writes thus to the Queen, &c.
for the Peace of Ireland, to shew that the Earl I have builded, &c.
the Fruits I hope to receive from it, I have sent the last Dispatches
I have sent concerning it. — FOR GOD'S SAKE LET NONE
KNOW THE PARTICULARS OF MY DISPATCHES.

By another Letter, he commanded Ormond, To dispatch the Irish
Peace out of hand; and thereby promises that the PENAL LAWS
against Roman Catholics SHALL NOT BE PUT IN EXECU-
TION, the Peace being made; and that when the Irish give him
that Assistance which they have promised for the suppression of THIS
REBELLION, then he would consent to the Repeal of them by a
Law: and concludes, RECOMMENDING TO HIM AGAIN,
THE SPEEDY DISPATCH OF THE PEACE OF IRELAND.

Another Letter to Ormond, upon the 27th of Feb. 1644, was,
THAT HE THOUGHT HIMSELF BOUND IN CONSCIENCE
not to lose that Assistance which he might hope from his IRISH
SUBJECTS, for such Scruples as in a less pressing condition might
reasonably be struck at by him, and therefore commanded him to con-
clude a Peace with the Irish, WHATSOEVER IT COST, so that
his Protestant Subjects there might be secured, and his Royal Autho-
rity preserved. — If the present taking away of the Penal Laws
against Papists will do it, (said he) I shall not think it a hard Bar-
gain, so that freely and vigorously they engage themselves in my As-
sistance against MY REBELS of England and Scotland, FOR
WHICH NO CONDITIONS CAN BE TOO HARD, not
being against Conscience or Honour.

By another Letter to the Marquess of Ormond, in the same
Month, he writes thus; Now again I cannot but mention the Ne-
cessity of hastening the Irish Peace, for which I hope you are already
furnished by me with Materials sufficient. But in case (against all
Expectation and Reason) PEACE CANNOT BE HAD UPON
THOSE TERMS, YOU MUST NOT BY ANY MEANS
FALL

FALL TO A NEW RUPTURE with them, but continue THE
CESSATION.

HE wrote to the Duke of Richmond, one of
his Commissioners for the *Cardus Treaty*, TO
REMEMBER TO CAJOLE WELL THE
INDEPENDENTS AND THE SCOTS.
Nay, he instructed Secretary Nicholas to bribe
the Commissioners for the Parliament, with the
promise of Security, Rewards, and Places.

There was at this time high Di-
vision in London, between the
Presbyterians and Independents; there-
fore to ruin both, by fomenting
Misunderstandings between them,
the Independents are to be capoid:
A thing worthy remembrance in
all times.

Well, now upon the whole Matter, pray tell me ingenuously,
good Doctor, whether did the King or the Parliament more sincerely
aim at the desired Peace in this Treaty? I am clearly of opinion,
that he frustrated the hopes of a happy Conclusion at this time;
for whatever you alledge, he abused the same moderation, honesty,
and granted those things he offered to yield to afterwards. (As it
may have occasion to shew you hereafter) the unhappy War had
then been ended. But though he pretended to listen to Overtures
of Peace, because he saw that many of the War yet on
was found to use Tricks of *Legerdemain*; and by this and his
other Treasures, aimed only at the getting some Advantage by se-
cret Treacheries and under-hand Dealings.

I have told you, that one of the three main Heads to be treated
upon, was Ireland; That was to be *annexed* and *forfeited*, by
a Peace, as any Rate to be huddled up with the Irish Rebels, ere the
Treaty could begin; that he might pretend his Word and Honour
past, against the popular Arguments which the Parliament might
urge upon him, for the continuance of that just War. The English,
during the Treaty, were called *perfidious Rebels*, the IRISH
GOOD AND CATHOLICK SUBJECTS. He contrived how to
make handsome Negotiations: For fashion sake he called the Parliament a
PARLIAMENT, yet by a Jesuitical Slights he did not acknowledge she
call them so. He pressed earnestly for Ten thousand Lorrainers
to be transported hither; and that a Body of the bloody Irish Re-
bels might be landed in Cumberland, delighting himself, that they
would put the Northern Counties into A BRAVE CONDI-
TION; for he well knew that they had destroyed above One
hundred and forty thousand Protestants in their own Kingdom; and
were therefore, without doubt, very fit Men to assist him in the
main aim of THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. He boasted of

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his

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His choice of Commissioners for the Treaty and that they would stick close to the NOTE of INSTRUCTIONS which he and the Queen had concerted, and assured her that HE WOULD EVER STEW HIS DONS' ANCY IN ADHERING TO BISHOPS AND PAPISTS. HE empowered the Queen to treat with the Irish, and to give assurance, that he would take away THE PENAL LAWS against Papists in England. In fine, Nothing is more evident, than that he used Treaties preterposing Peace, to no other End, than to gain Advantages that might enable him to carry on War. And methinks it should not offend you to hear that Opinion, not only a Minister, but a Martyr for Mon. by had of this King; the famous Mr. Christopher Horne, who left his Head upon Tower-hill, (which I am confident you will never do for any Cause, tho' you live near it) preaching before the Parliament Commissioners at this Oxford Treaty, expressed himself thus; It would search to the quick to find out WHETHER KING JAMES AND PRINCE HENRY HIS SON CAME TO A TIMELY DEATH, YEA OR NO; Some Parliaments have been the better for it, when there was but a whispering, what an injury should be made of their Prayers. It would search to the quick, to know WHETHER ROCHESTER, and all THE PROTESTANTS in it, were not betrayed into the hands of their Enemies, AND BY WHOM. It would be to the quick to find out WHETHER THE IRISH REBELLION was not plotted, promoted, countenanced and supported in England, AND BY WHOM.

Now, I hope, Reverend Sir, that you will not have the face to deny, but Mr. Love was a Conscientious and Pious, Divine; and I will finish this Head in telling you, (though a little out of course) that the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury and Denbigh, with the Lord Wainman, Sir Henry Lane, Mr. Pierrepont, Mr. Hodges, Mr. Rindar, Mr. St. John, Mr. Whitlock and Mr. Crew, Commissioners for the Parliament in the Treaty we have been talking of, were as well as you boast the King's Commissioners to have been Men of Honour and Pionesty, Men of Fortunes and Estates, Men of great Parts and Endowments, who understood the Business they were about, and were very fond of healing the Nations Braches, and putting things into such a posture as might settle the King upon his just Rights, and the People upon their ancient Priviledges.

Well,

Well, Sir, for my own Comfort, if not for Yours, I suppose to trouble my self (as I do at this present) with but one thing more in your Affairs, to wit, That the Scots have refused all their Promises and Obligations, **SEED THE KING TO THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT.** This is a true Truth, and also no contradiction because they cannot, but because they will not keep the Truth. And I cannot conceive that you believe what you here assert. Therefore, that my Country-men may be undeceived, and our Brethren of Scotland vindicated, I will set this Matter in its true Light. The King had fled to the Borders being at Newcastle, then in the Parliament's Service and so these Propositions for Peace were made unto him, which he rejected. The War being happily ended, the Parliament were in a fear to the Scots for their assistance in it, for which all England prayed. It was agreed, that half the Sum should be presently paid, upon Receipt thereof, the Scots were to deliver up (not the King, but) Berwick, Newcastle, and Carlisle to the Parliament. 'Tis far from Truth, that this was the Price of the King, for the Parliament thought it should be the Scots, that they might carry him (if they pleased) to Edinburgh. But they refused, affirming, that by his presence, in an unsecured Nation, new Commotions might arise; They rather desired (which was also the King's desire) that he might be carried into the Southern parts of England, and live in some of his Palaces near London, which they thought more convenient for treating of a Peace. So that in all the whole Debate, they sought to demand, no one should have the King, but who should not have him. Nevertheless, to cast a slander upon both Nations, for certainly 'tis as wicked a thing to buy, as to sell such Merchandise; You, Sir, will have it that the Scots sold him, the English bought him; but WILFULNESS EVER WAS THE GREATEST IN RIGIDNESS.

Now and so, I shall for the present discharge you and my self from further trouble. You think, I suppose, that you make me a very merciful Offer, That if I will repent, and do so no more, I may hope to live in Peace, and you will not further Jash me with any more such Scourges, as I have been but now tortured with; but if I shall persist, and appear incorrigible, you have more Rods in Pils, and will pay me off. You have much more to say in the behalf of King Charles the First, [tis well if you have, for I am sure 'tis very little that you have hitherto

said] and you assure me I shall have it, and resolve? That as long as you can hold a Pen in your Hand, you will not drop his Cause. There's no Remedy then, but I must abide you. For you for so long never to let Forgiveness and Pardon do so much. But on the contrary, to write, as I have before, and you give me occasion, in the defence of the same, and Liberties of my Country. Upon which Subject I have much more to say, and if you will not be quiet, you shall have it; I love the Cause too well to drop it, and will wear my Steel Pen to the Stumps in its defence. And now seeing we are eternally to differ in this Point, I desire to settle two things with you, for the more orderly Prosecution of this dreadful War.

1. That we (as Quelli's agree the length of their Weapons) may resolve how often to trouble the World with our importunities; I think once, or if you will have it so, twice (because there are TWO MADDING DAYS in a Year, may suffice.

2. That after you have fairly assured this, and my former Letter, by falsifying (which as a Preliminary I shall expect from you) the many Particular Instances I have brought in, that your advised Prince and Father-in-Law approve that they are not *Alibi*, or *Evidence*, of *Treason*, nor would them in the further Prosecution of that Defence which you have undertaken, and indeed of *Criminating* one of the *greatest* and *best* deserving *Parliament* that ever *England* saw, lay aside your loose and general way of discouraging and *empty* *Particulars*, when you shall so proceed, and are failed at it, *show* *any* *more* *then* and not till then, the day will be your own. For the throughout your whole Discourse, which I have been examining, you *Rebelle* *the* *Lords* *and* *Commons*, and fly in the Face of the *Parliament*, with the King's gracious *MESS AGES*, *SAYINGS*, &c. *Oh* *may* *upon* *better* *grounds*, *sum* *up* *the* *humble* *condescending*, *convincing* *PETITIONS*, *MESS AGES*, *DECLARATIONS*, &c. of the *Parliament*, and dash them all into your Face, than you can those *Messages* and *Sayings* of the *King* into the Faces of all who declare that, he was a *proud* *Nimrod*, a *hardened* *Pharaoh*; in plain English, A *MERCILESS TYRANT*.

Lastly, To encourage you to further Conversation with me, the some Men are so impudent as to say that it is not Day when the Sun it self doth shine, you shall see that I am not resolved against

against Conviction; but that being under the Command of good Manners, I felt not satisfied in the Confession which I made in the beginning of this Letter, of an Error committed in my former Assertion to the Noble Lord Conway, sometime Secretary of State to King Charles the First, but shall more fully do it in this place.

Being misguided by the Printer's Mistake in Rushworth's first Collections, from whence I took it, I was led to say in my last Year's Letter, pag. 7. That the Lord Conway said in Parliament that he never hated Popery; whereas his words were, that he ever hated it; and I have now certain ground to say, that those words were not only consonant to his Speech then made in Parliament, but agreeable to the constant Tenour of his whole Life, even unto the last Period. His Father and Mother lived and died pious Protestants; such was his Religious Lady, and such are his Grand-Children at this day.

This Lord Conway was Knighted at the taking of Cadix in Spain, in the time of Queen Elizabeth; he was afterwards for many Years Governor of the Brill in Holland, where he and his Family lived, as became zealous Protestants, and greatly beloved and esteemed by the Protestant Magistrates and Admistrers of that Town.

He was greatly favoured by the never to be forgotten MOST PIOUS PRINCE HENRY.

When the Brill and other Cautionary Towns were delivered to the Dutch, upon his return into England, he was employed to Jersey to compose some Differences there, which he performed to so much Satisfaction, that the good Protestants of that Place always mentioned him with Honour.

He was then sent Ambassador to Germany in behalf of the King and Queen of Bohemia, and was very acceptable to those UNHAPPILY DESERTED Protestant Princes. Upon his return to England the Spanish-March was warmly press'd; against which he spake with so much Reason and Courage, that the Duke of Buckingham (who for particular ends, resolved to ruin that Project) introduced him as a proper Instrument for that purpose, to be Principal Secretary of State.

In that Station he refused many great Gifts tendred to him by particular Persons, and 10000 l. Sterling offer'd and press'd upon him by the Spanish Ambassador.

In

In the beginning of King *Charles I.* Reign, at the opening of one of those *Parliaments*, and according to the Custom then, the *Mass* *Communion* being to be received by both Houses of *Parliament*, by the *Communion* of *John LAUDEANS*, or the *SACRAMENT* was offered to the *Lords* in *Henry the Seventh's Chapel*, NOT IN BREAD, BUT IN WAFERS: This *Lord Conway* was one of the *Lords* who refused the *Wafers*, and caused them to be taken away, and Bread to be brought.

* He that would not make the necessary Advances to *Rome*, was to be neither *Secretary*, nor *Minister* of *State* to King *Charles I.*

* Not long after *K. Charles I.* sent for the *Secretary's Office* from him; which (as the *Lord* employed in that *Mollage* would often say) the *Lord Conway* delivered with an admirable Generosity, becoming indeed one that in that Ministry of *State*, had served the *Publick* with extraordinary Ability and Integrity; had performed many noble Offices to particular Persons, without Injury to any, and yet that *Lord* had some others of great Profit, without one *Parting* advantage to the *State* of his *Family*.

When he was upon his *Dumb-Bell*, a *Lady* of great *Wit*, who was turned *Pauper*, and was the *Widow* of a near Relation of his *Lordship*, very subtly and earnestly pressed upon him concerning his *Religion*; whereupon he strengthened himself, and made full Profession of his firm *Stedfastness* in the *Reformed Protestant Religion*, caused the *Servants* to convey this *Lady* out of his *House*, and commanded them not to suffer any of that *Religion* to come to him.

And now, *Doctor*, I assure you at parting, That as fast as you shall convince me of any *Error* or *Mistake*, committed in my *Scriblings* about your *Matter*; I shall as openly and frankly retract it, as I have now done this, which relates to my *Lord Conway*. Might I be made so happy as to find a suitable return from you; and that you would give a free and impartial Liberty to the use of your own Reason, I would yet hope, that we might mutually conclude, as I now do,

Your Friend in and for the Truth,

Amsterdam, Jan. 30, 1691.

Edmund Ludlow.

A Table of some remarkable Things in this Book.

	Page		Page
K ing Charles I. favouring Popery, and disputing with the Laws, &c.	3	A Synod called and dissolved by the King; the Scots protest against the Dissolution, and continue it.	14
His Bishops charged Popery, and discountenanced conformable Orthodox Ministers.	3	The King resolves upon a War against Scotland.	14
Montague one of his Chaplains, is decreed to reconcile England to Rome, made a Bishop.	4	That War called Bellum Anglicanum.	15
The King's leading Ships to the French to deliver the Protestants of Rochel.	4	The Scots raise an Army.	15
Ship-Money, Law, Case, and Conclusion.	4	A Pacification concluded, the King soon after burns it by the Hangman's hands.	15
Archiebishop Abbot suspected and confined, By Williams disgraced and imprisoned.	4	Scottish Commissioners sent to the King, imprisoned.	16
Sir Randolph Crew Lord Chief Justice displaced.	5	A Parliament called in April 1640, and dissolved.	16
Tonnage and Poundage levied against Law.	5	Members imprisoned.	17
Earl of Bristol confined.	5	Clergy and Papists contribute to a second War against Scotland.	17
Earl of Arundel imprisoned.	6	Sir Nicholas Bainton, Sir Stephen Scamper, and other ancient Chieftains, imprison'd for refusing a Law.	17
Duke of Buckingham protested against the Parliament.	6	The Scots possess themselves of Newcastle and Durham.	17
Members of Parliament imprisoned.	6	The Lords at York petition for a Parliament.	18
Sir John Lilburne's Death in the Tower.	7	Cessation of Arms with the Scots.	18
The King's threatening Speeches in Parliament.	8	Parliament of Nov. 1640, summons'd.	18
His Speech at the Meeting of the Parliament, Nov. 1640.	11	Star-Chamber, and High-Commission Courts suppress'd by Act of Parliament.	21
Bishops threatened upon Scotland against their Bishops, and sent out of the Kingdom.	12	Roll-money granted.	21
Law framed a Common Prayer for Scotland, and sent to be approved by the Pope.	12	Dr. Leighton's Complaint in the Star-Chamber.	22
The Scots protest against it.	13	Mr. Ryn's, Dr. Ballinche's, and Mr. Burton's Conferences and buried Oppressions by Archbishop Laud.	24, 25
King James I. took the Scottish Covenant in the Year 1580.	13	These Sentences declared illegal in Parliament.	27
The Scots renewed that Covenant in the Year 1638.	13, 14	Ship-Money illegal.	27
The Scots require to have the Liturgy abolished, and to have a National Synod.	14	Lord Keeper Finch impeach'd of High-Treason about Ship-Money, and flies.	28
		The many Exorbitances and Oppressions of the Bishops.	28
		Twelve of them impeach'd of Treason, and	28

Page	
31	and, all returned from the Lords
31	The Earl of Strafford impeach'd and
30	attainted of Treason.
31	Bill for Triennial Parliaments; and for
31	continuing the present Parliament,
31	pass'd.
31	Conspiracy to bring the Army against
31	the Parliament discovered.
31	The King had a million and half of
31	Money in the first Year of the Parlia-
31	ment 1640.
31	The Remonstrance of the State of the
31	Kingdom, Dec. 1641.
31	The Tumults and Riots in 1641.
31	An Account of the occasions of these
31	Tumults.
31	The King accepts for Lord Mauderville
31	and five Members of Treason.
31	He goes to the House of Commons with
31	an armed Force, and demands the
31	Five Members.
31	The Commons demand a Bill of Pardon
31	The Case of Sir John Berkeley's wife
31	The King leaves Westminster
31	The Parliament petitioned him to re-
31	turn to return.
31	They send a Deputation to him to New-
31	market, praying his return.
31	The petition of the Ministers for safe-
31	ty.
31	His Answer about the petition.
31	His sending to the King of Denmark
31	for Aid against the Parliament.
31	He invited the Scots against him.
31	The Queen's flight to Holland.
31	Names of the Peers recommended by
31	the Parliament to be arrested with
31	the Ministers.
31	The Lords and Commons petition about
31	the Ministers.

Page	
31	Their Ordinances for ordering the
31	The Proceedings of the Parliament
31	with King Richard the Second.
31	The Lords and Commons petition the
31	King at York to return.
31	The King summons the County of York,
31	and requires them to raise him a
31	Guard.
31	They petition him to return to the Par-
31	liament.
31	Petition of many thousand Protestants
31	of Yorkshire.
31	The King requires the Gentlemen, Es-
31	quires of Yorkshire to attend him in Arms.
31	The Lords and Commons vote, that the
31	King should be put to death.
31	fact or effect that he had done in
31	Treason.
31	They vote the raising an Army to be
31	commanded by the Earl of Essex.
31	Their Petition to the King to return.
31	The King's Speech at the raising of
31	an Army.
31	The Petition of the Parliament to the
31	Earl of Essex.
31	The Proposition made by the Commons
31	for War.
31	The Opinion of some of the Members
31	of the House of Commons.
31	The Unhappy Treaty.
31	Acts of Letters between the English
31	Queen and Margaret of Denmark.
31	About the Unhappy Treaty, and for
31	promising to Peace with the Scots.
31	Rebels to bring them against the
31	Parliament.
31	The vulgar Errors of the Scots.
31	The King refused.
31	A Vindication of the Lord Conway.

After this, the Prolocutor, with the Members on that side, return'd into the Lower House, and he took the Chair, and they sat there for some considerable time. But what they afterwards did, none but themselves are allow'd to know; their Journal having ever since been kept so private, that neither their Superiors, nor their Brethren, know how to come to the sight of it. So that all the Account that can be farther given, is, that on the 21st day of *March*, a *Royal Writ of Prorogation* was directed to the Archbishop, to be executed by him, or his Commissary, to Prorogue the present Convocation to the 21st day of *May*.

F. I. N. I. S.

LETTER
FROM
General Ludlow
TO
Dr. Hollingworth, (1710)

Their Majesties Chaplain A. T. S. *Dr. Hollingworth*

Defending his former Letter to Sir E. S. which compar-
ed the Tyranny of the first Four Years of King Charles
the Martyr, with the Tyranny of the Four Years of
the late Abdicated King.

And vindicating the Parliament which began in *Novemb. 1640*

Occasioned by the Lies and Scandals of many bad Men of this Age.

Veritas emerge Patet.

I acknowledge it were better if we could have *John Wilmot*. That the Day should perish
that Darkness and the shadow of Death should cover it; that it should not see the
dawning of the Day, nor should the Light shine upon it. It were better to strike it
out of our Kalendar, and to make our *January* determine at the 29th, and add these
remaining Days to *February*. Dr. *Baxter*, *Bishop of Salisbury*, his *Sermon at St. Lau-
rence Church, London, January 30. 1690.*

AMSTERDAM, Printed Anno Dom. 1692.

to him at York, the 26th. of March, 1642. They humbly advised and beseeched him, that **FOR THE RECOVERY OF IRELAND,** and securing this Kingdom, he would be graciously pleased, with all convenient speed, to return to London, and to close with the Counsel of his Parliament; where he should find their dutiful Affections and Endeavours ready to attend him, with such Entertainment, as should not only give him just cause of Security in their Faithfulness; but other manifold Evidences of their Intentions and Endeavours to advance his Majesty's Service, Honour, and Contentment, and to establish it upon the sure Foundation of the Peace and Prosperity of his Kingdoms. **EXPRESSIONS, surely Doctor, THAT DO NOT IN THE LEAST SAVOUR OF REBELLION AND TREASON.** The deaf King, instead of hearkning to this dutiful Petition and Invitation, summoned the Gentry of that County to attend him at York, where he made the most bitter Invektives against the Parliament, and stirred them up to raise Horse and Foot for his Service. His Majesty found but few Gentlemen to comply with his Demand of raising Men, tho made under the pretence of a Guard.. The greater part of the Gentlemen, and divers thousands of Freeholders, gave him an Answer under their hands to this effect, *We humbly beseech your Majesty to impart the grounds of your Fears and Jealousies to your High Court of Parliament (OF WHOSE MOST LOTAL CARE AND AFFECTION TO YOUR MAJESTY'S HONOUR AND SAFETY WE ARE MOST CONFIDENT) and WHATSOEVER SHALL BE ADVISED by YOUR GREAT COUNCIL, we shall most willingly embrace, and give our Concurrence and Assistance to it, as shall become us.* **And WE ARE MOST ASSURED,** that your Royal Person shall be secure in the general Fidelity of your Subjects of this County without any extraordinary GUARD.

The King was presented the next day with a Petition from many thousands, who justly filled themselves peaceably affected Subjects in the County of York, in which they speak thus:

That many of them in their late Desires of petitioning your Majesty, were denied Access, kept back with Violence, and affronted by some who had Dependence on your Majesty; and were threatened, that **WHEN YOUR MAJESTY'S ARMY SHOULD BE ON FOOT,** those should be first pillaged that refused to subscribe to the raising of Forces; which we humbly conceive are **POSITIVELY CON-**

CONTRARY TO YOUR MAJESTY'S OWN EXPRESSIONS, &c.

We humbly supplicate your Majesty, to cast your Eye upon the present State of this your Kingdom. ——— We are confident that no so absolute and heavy Obedience to your Majesty's just Commands can be demonstrated, as what your Majesty in Parliament shall declare; which IF IT BECOME DIVIDED, (as God forbid) our Hearts even tremble to consider the Dangers and Diminution of the Honour and Safety your Majesty's Posterity and Kingdoms will unavoidably be put upon: Since it is clear to every Understanding, that IT IS NOT A DIVIDED PART OF ONE OR SEVERAL COUNTIES THAT can afford that Honour and Safety to your Majesty, AS THE WHOLE KINGDOM WHICH YOU MAY COMMAND, no ground of Fear or Danger remaining, if a good Confidence were begot betwixt your Majesty and your Parliament; whose grave and loyal Counsels are, we humbly conceive, the visible way, under God, to put a speedy end to the Troubles of Ireland, and establish your Throne in Righteousness.

We most humbly supplicate, that we may represent our Unfitness to become Judges betwixt your Majesty and Parliament, in any thing, or dispute the Authority of either; which we humbly conceive do fortify each other. ——— We shall be ready to maintain your Majesty's just Rights, the Privileges and Power of Parliaments, and the lawful Liberties of the Subjects.

I have now shewn you Doctor, that the King wanted not Invitations to return and live in Honour and Safety at London: The Parliament importunately pressed in, the Gentlemen and Freeholders of Yorkshire, humbly supplicated it: But nothing is more certain, than that instead of hoping to cool the Heat at London, by retiring to York; was his sole purpose and intention to put that Country and the whole Kingdom into a Flame, as he quickly did; and pursuant to that Design, having rejected with Scorn, the Petitions I have mentioned; he persisted in his former way of raising Forces, and made Proclamation, requiring all Gentlemen and others of that County to attend him in Arms.

The Lords and Commons wisely foreseeing the impending Mischiefs, and observing the Clouds to gather so fast, and threaten a Storm, they as wisely endeavoured to prevent it; and therefore passed a Vote, May 26, 1642, That it appears the King

(seduced by wicked Council) intends to make War against the Parliament; who in all their Consultations and Actions, have proposed no other end unto themselves, but the Care of his Kingdom, and the performance of all Duty and Loyalty to his Person,

2. That whenever the King maketh War upon the Parliament, it is a Breach of the Trust reposed in him by his People, contrary to his Oath, and tending of the Dissolution to the Government.

3. That whosoever shall serve, or assist him in such War, are Traitors by the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, and have been so adjudged by two Acts of Parliament, and ought to suffer as Traitors, 11 Rich. 2. 1 Hen. 4.

Pag. 10.

But I must hear you, Sir, upon this Point of the first beginning of the unnatural and bloody War; yon suggest that he was forced to raise an Army, which was after the Parliament had voted a Necessity of a War with him.

Will you never leave your L—— Doctor? The Parliament did not vote a necessity of a War: They indeed voted, as I told you but now, That it appeared that the King intended to make War against them; and it was near two Months afterwards, viz. the 12th of July 1642. that the Lords and Commons (finding his Majesty to persist in that Intention) voted, that an Army should be forthwith raised for the Safety of the King's Person, Defence of both Houses of Parliament, and preserving of the true Religion, the Laws, Liberty, and the Peace of the Kingdom. That the Earl of Essex should be General, and that they will love and die with him in this Cause; and that the Earl of Bedford should be General of the Horse. Nevertheless, they resolved that a Petition should be presented to his Majesty, by the Earl of Holland, Sir John Holland, and Sir Philip Stapleton, to move the King to a good Accord with his Parliament, to prevent a Civil War; which was to the effect following.

Although, We your Majesties most humble and faithful Subjects, the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, have been very unhappy in many former Petitions to your Majesty; and with much Sorrow do perceive that your Majesty, incensed by many false Calumnies and Slanders, doth continue to raise Forces against us, and to make great Preparations for War, both in the Kingdom and from beyond the Seas; yet such is our earnest desire of discharging our Duty to your Majesty, and the Kingdom,

dom, to preserve the Peace thereof, and to prevent the Miseries of Civil War: That notwithstanding we hold our selves bound to use all the Means and Power, which by the Laws and Constitutions of this Kingdom we are trusted with, for Defence and Protection thereof, and of the Subjects from Force and Violence; We do in this our humble and loyal Petition, prostrate our selves at your Majesty's Feet, beseeching that you will forbear and remove all Preparations and Actions of War. — That you will come nearer to your Parliament, and hearken to their faithful Advice and humble Petitions; which shall only tend to the Defence and Advancement of Religion, your own Royal Honour and Safety, the preservation of our Laws and Liberties: And we have been, and ever shall be careful to prevent and punish all Tumults and seditious Actions, Speeches and Writings, which may give your Majesty just cause of Distaste, or apprehension of Danger.

And we, for our Parts, shall be ready to lay down all those Preparations which we have been forced to make for our Defence. And for the Town of Hull, and the Ordinances concerning the Militia, as we have in both these Particulars, only sought the preservation of the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Defence of the Parliament from Force and Violence; so we shall most willingly leave the Town of Hull in the State it was before Sir John Hotham drew any Forces into it, delivering your Majesty's Magazine into the Tower of London: We shall be ready to settle the Militia by a Bill, in such a way as shall be honourable and safe for your Majesty, most agreeable to the Duty of Parliament, and effectual for the Good of the Kingdom, that the Strength thereof be not employed against it self; and that which ought to be for our Security, applied to our Destruction. And that the Parliament, and those who profess and desire still to preserve the Protestant Religion, both in this Realm, and in Ireland, may not be left naked and indefensible, to the mischievous Designs and cruel Attempts of those who are the profess'd and confederate Enemies thereof, in your Majesty's Dominions, and other Neighbour Nations: To which, if your Majesty's Counsel and Councils shall from henceforth concur; We doubt not but we shall quickly make it appear to the World, by the most eminent Effects of Love and Duty, That your Majesty's personal Safety, your Royal Honour and Greatness, are much dearer to us than our

own Lives and Fortunes, which we do most heartily dedicate, and shall most willingly imploy for the support and maintenance thereof.

And now, Sir, I appeal to you, and to all the World, Whether these Men talk'd here, as though they were resolv'd to make War, and engross all into their own hands; let what would become of the King? as a certain Aldgate Doctor of Divinity falsely accuses the Lords and Commons. Thanks be to God, Sir John Holland (as well as Sir John Pringle) is yet alive in Norfolk, in perfect Health and Understanding; and is ready to give the same account I have here given you, to any Man that asks him about it.

Pag. 10.

What say you next, Mr. Chaplain at Aldgate? Why, To let the World see what the King aimed at; He does assure the Gentlemen, whose Loyalty engaged them early on his Side; and does promise them, in the Presence of Almighty God, and as he hopes for his Blessing and Protection, that he would to the utmost of his Power, defend and maintain the true Protestant Religion established in the Church of England.

You almost provoke me, Doctor, to draw up a Petition to your Right Honourable and Right Reverend Diocesan, to suspend you from writing DEFENCES, till you swear to do them honestly; then, and not till then, we may hope for the Truth, the whole Truth; and nothing but the Truth: I am credibly informed, that there was something more in this Speech, than you are willing to acknowledge; It is the same, I take it for granted, that his Majesty made at the Head of his Army, between Stafford and Wellington, the 19th of September 1642. He then had these Expressions also; The time cannot be long before we come to a Battle. You shall meet with no Enemies, but TRAITORS, MOST OF THEM BROW-NISTS, ANABAPTISTS AND ATHEISTS. These were the Words of a King, I shall not therefore reflect farther upon them, than to ask you, upon the Oath which you are to take, Whether you do in your Conscience believe, that the Great, the Good, the pious King, spoke Truth here? Whether he had not more Atheists and Papists in his Army, than the Parliament had Brownists, and Anabaptists, in theirs?

Pag. 12.

Your next effort is this; You fall upon the Consideration of the Steps his Majesty made towards Peace, and then express your self; Truly, I think, ACCORDING TO MY POOR JUDGMENT, be now all according to what he always pretended, and solemnly avow'd; to wit, in a true Father of his Country; for he purpos'd, That HIS REVENUE, MAGAZINES, TOWNS, SHIPS

SHIPS AND FORTS may be restored to him, and all should be well.

Now I will readily agree, that there is here and there found a Doctor, nay a Chaplain too, of a poor Judgment; but one would think, that he that is conscious of his own Weakness and Incapacity, should not assume the Arrogance to judg in Matters of Right between Princes and their People. And I will here tell you, what better Heads than you or I ever wore, said upon this Point; The Opinion of the Parliament was, That his Majesty's Towns were no more his own, than the Kingdom is his own; and his Kingdom is no more his own, than his People are his own: And if the King had a Propriety in all his Towns, what would become of the Subjects Property in their Houses therein? And if he had a Propriety in his Kingdom, what would become of the Subjects Property in their Lands throughout the Kingdom, or of their Liberties, if his Majesty had the same Right in their Persons, that every Subject hath in his Lands? This ERRONEOUS MAXIM being infused into Princes, THAT THEIR KINGDOMS ARE THEIR OWN; and that they may do with them what they will, (AS IF THEIR KINGDOMS were for them, and not they for their Kingdoms) is the Root of all the Subjects Misery, and of the invading of their just Rights and Liberties; whereas INDEED THEY ARE ONLY INTRUSTED with their Kingdoms, and with their Towns; and with their People; and with the Publick Treasures of the Common-Wealth, and whatsoever is brought therein; and by the known Law of the Kingdom, the VERY JEWELS OF THE CROWN are not the King's PROPER Goods, but are only intrusted unto him for the Use and Ornament thereof; as the Towns, Ports, Treasure, Magazines, Offices, and the People of the Kingdom; and the whole Kingdom is self is intrusted unto him, for the Good, Safety, and best Advantage thereof. And AS THIS TRUST IS FOR THE USE OF THE KINGDOM, SO IT OUGHT TO BE MANAGED BY THE ADVICE OF THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, whom the Kingdom hath trusted for that purpose, it being their Duty to see it be discharged, according to the condition and true intents thereof, and as much as in them lies, by all possible means to prevent the contrary.

Not to enquire what you, Sir, in your poor Judgment do think of this high Principle, I will move with what speed I can, to a Conclusion: I told you, not long since, That the Lords and Com-

mons:

monies voted the raising an Army to be commanded by the Earl of Essex; and at the same time humbly (but in vain) supplicated the King for Peace, and to return to his Parliament. When the General marched with his Forces towards the Army raised against the Parliament and Kingdom: He was instructed to fight at such Time and Place as he should judge most to conduce to the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, but was also commanded to cause a Petition of both Houses to be presented to his Majesty; wherein they thus expressed themselves,

‘We cannot, without great grief and tenderness of Compassion, behold the pressing Miseries, the imminent Dangers, the devouring Calamities which do extremely threaten the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, by the practice of a Party pre-
 ‘wailing with your Majesty, who by many wicked Plots and Conspiracies, have attempted the alteration of the true Religion, and
 ‘the ancient Government of this Kingdom, and the introducing of
 ‘**POPISSH IDOLATRY AND SUPERSTITION in the CHURCH,**
 ‘and **TYRANNY and CONFUSION in the STATE.** And for
 ‘the compassing thereof, have long corrupted your Majesty’s
 ‘Counsell, abused your Power, and by sudden and untimely dis-
 ‘solving of the former Parliaments, have often hindered the Re-
 ‘formation and Prevention of those Mischiefs; and being now
 ‘disabled to avoid the Endeavours of this Parliament, by any
 ‘such Means, have **TRAITEROUSLY** attempted to recover the
 ‘same by Force: And in prosecution of their wicked Design,
 ‘have **EXCITED, ENCOURAGED AND FOSTERED** an unna-
 ‘tural **REBELLION in IRELAND;** and have drawn your
 ‘**MAJESTY** to make War against your Parliament, as if you in-
 ‘tended, by **CONQUEST,** to establish an **ABSOLUTE ILLI-
 ‘MITED POWER** over them.

‘And by **YOUR POWER,** and the countenance of your Presence,
 ‘have **SPOILED, IMPRISONED, MURDERED** divers
 ‘of your People. And for their better assistance in these wicked
 ‘Designs, do seek to bring over the Rebels of Ireland to join with
 ‘them. **WE HAVE,** for the just and necessary Defence of the
 ‘Protestant Religion, of your Majesty’s Person, of the Laws and
 ‘Liberties of the Kingdom, and the Priviledge and Power of Parlia-
 ‘ment; **TAKEN UP ARMS,** and appointed Robert Earl of
 ‘Essex to be Captain General of all the Forces by us raised; and

to head and conduct the same, against these **REBELS** and **TRAITORS**, and them to subdue and bring to condign Punishment.

And do most humbly beseech your Majesty to withdraw your Royal Presence and Countenance from these wicked Persons; and **THAT YOUR MAJESTY WILL NOT MIX YOUR OWN DANGER WITH THEIRS**; but, in Peace and Safety, forthwith return to your Parliament, and by their faithful Counsel and Advice, compose the present Distempers and Confusions abounding in both your Kingdoms, and provide for the Security and Honour of your Royal Posterity, and the prosperous Estate of all your Subjects: And we do, in the presence of Almighty God, profess, That we will receive your Majesty with all Honour, yield you all due Obedience and Subjection, and faithfully endeavour your to secure your Person and Estate from all Danger; and to the uttermost of our Power, to procure and establish to your Self, and to your People, all the Blessings of a glorious and happy Reign.

You see, Sir, the **LORDS AND COMMONS TALK'D LIKE CHRISTIANS**; They were grieved at the Miseries of the Kingdoms; They detested the Romish Idolatry; When they sent their Army against the Enemies of the King and Kingdom, they supplicate his Majesty not to mix his Danger with theirs, but to return in Peace to his Parliament, and compose the Distempers of his Kingdoms, and provide for the Security and Honour of his Posterity: They **IN THE PRESENCE OF GOD PROFESS**, that they would receive him with all Honour, yield him all due Subjection, endeavour to secure him from Danger, and make his Reign Glorious and Happy; **WHICH WORDS CERTAINLY ARE NOT THE WORDS OF TRAITORS**. But all this would not do, for he resolved to answer their Petitions in Blood, and proclaimed the Earl of Essex, Rebel. Yet, to blind the Eyes of the Multitude, and disguise his pernicious and cruel Intentions, under the semblance of Peace and Justice, he made (as you, Doctor, have observed) divers solemn Protestations, with fearful imprecations upon himself and invocation of God's Holy Name, That he intended nothing but the Peace and Welfare of his People, the maintenance of Religion, and the Laws of the Kingdom; and for his own security only, to raise a Guard for his Person; and that he did from his Soul abhor the thought of making War against the Parliament, or

to put the Kingdom into a Combustion: Nevertheless, his contrary Intentions were at that very instant manifested, by these ensuing Actions and Proceedings, before the Parliament voted the raising of their Army.

He put a Garrison of Souldiers into Newcastle.

*Upon the 27th of Septemb. 1642, he not only allowed, but required the Papists of *Lincolshire* to provide Arms for themselves, their Servants and Tenants; and all without doubt for the Service of the Church of England.

The * *Papists*, in a peremptory manner, in the King's Name, demanded their Arms, taken from them according to the Laws, to be again restored to them.

He caused the Mouth of the River *Tine* to be fortified, whereby the whole Trade of *Newcastle* for Coals, was subject to be interrupted whensoever he should please.

A Ship laden with Cannon for Battery, Powder and Ammunition, was brought for him into the River of *Humber*; which also brought several Commanders from Foreign Parts: Also divers other large Preparations of Warlike Provisions were made beyond the Sea, and shortly expected; besides, great Numbers of Gentlemen, Horses and Arms, were drawn from all parts of the Kingdom; and all the Gentlemen of *Torkshire* required to bring in their Horses for the King's Service.

Commissions for raising Horse were granted, and divers Officers for his Army were appointed.

Upon the 4th of July, the King rendezvouzed an Army of a considerable number of Horse and Foot at *Beverly*; amongst whom there were divers *Papists*, and other Persons of desperate Fortune and Condition, ready to execute any Violence, Rapine and Oppression.

He sent some Troops of Horse into *Lincolshire*, to the great Terror of the People: They began to take away Mens Horses, by force, and to commit Acts of Hostility.

These are sad Truths, Reverend Doctor; and the King having thus, contrary to his solemn Protestation, begun the War; the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, held themselves bound in Conscience to raise Forces for the preservation of the Peace of the Kingdom, and Protection of the People in their Persons and Estates, according to Law; and for the Defence and Security of the Parliament: and accordingly upon the 12th of July, 1642, and not before (as I have already told you) they voted the raising an Army for these purposes.

Now.

Now in regard, as I understand, you were before your Dotage, a Presbyterian Minister of Essex; I would gladly set your poor Judgment right in this great Point, of as well the Necessity as Justice of the Parliament War; and in regard that I find you prejudiced against Dr. Seaman and Mr. Calamy, I will not offer their Opinion to you; but pray see what the learned and pious Mr. Daniel Rogers of Werberisfield, Mr. Matthew Newcomen of Dedham and above sixty eminent Ministers of so many several Towns in Essex, left under their hands, in relation to this Controversy between you and me.

'We (say they) call the God of Heaven and Earth to witness upon our Souls, that it was not haired to any Party or Person, much less to the Person of OUR KING, that first drew us to engage with and for the PARLIAMENT; but clearly this, some Years before the Assembling of this Parliament, we evidently saw the Affairs of Church and State in imminent and apparent hazard; many and great Alterations made in Doctrine, Innovations in Worship, the Power of Godliness disgrac'd, true Religion undermined, the faithful and conscientious Professors of it persecuted, even to Bonds, Flight and Imprisonment, POPE-
RY CONNIVED AT, COUNTENANCED, COURTED; besides many grievous Oppressions of the Subjects in their Liberties and Properties. These things we saw and sighed for, but had no thoughts of inviting any to make Resistance, (tho' against the abused Name and Power of a misguided King, whom we much pined in his Miscarriages) until it pleased God to bless us with A PARLIAMENT, THE ORDINARY MEANS WHICH HE HATH APPOINTED IN THIS NATION FOR THE REDRESSING OF SUCH GROWING EVILS. The Parliament meet, declare their Apprehensions of the Danger of CHURCH AND STATE, apply themselves to all humble and submissive ways, by PETITIONS, REMONSTRANCES, &c. speak nothing but honourably of the King; lay the blame of all Miscarriages upon Evil Counsellors, require them to Tryal: But God, for our Sins and his, thuts up his Majesty's Heart against these Addresses: Instead of yielding up those whom the Parliament demands, he demands some of their Members, seconds his Demand with a Face of Violence: AND HERE BEGAN THAT MOST UNHAPPY BREACH

See the Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom. Decemb. 15. 1641.

the Parliament upon this design a Guard; the King apprehended
 OR PRETENDED Terror, he leaves his Parliament upon it,
 and UNDER SHADOW OF A GUARD, for his Person,
 RAISETH AN ARMY, sets up his STANDARD, &c. The
 Story is too long and sad for us to relate; but hence arose that
 Fire, which since hath burnt almost to the very Foundation;
 and who knows when it will be quenched?

The Parliament seeing which way the Counsels of the King
 steered, apprehend a necessity of raising Arms FOR THE
 DEFENCE OF THEMSELVES AND THE KINGDOM.

When the War was first commenced, their Army carried
 a Petition in the one hand, as well as a Sword in the other, in
 which the Lords and Commons do, IN THE PRESENCE OF
 ALMIGHTY GOD, profess; That if his Majesty will forthwith
 return to his Parliament, &c. they will receive him with all Honour,
 yield him all due Subjection and Obedience, and faithfully endeavour
 to secure his Person and Estate from all Danger, and do the utmost
 of their Power, to procure and establish to himself and his People
 all the Blessings of a glorious and happy Reign. WE DID THEN
 VERILY BELIEVE, AND YET DO, that these were the
 sincere and cordial Intentions of the Lords and Commons; and
 altho' the King was so unhappy as to reject this Petition, yet they
 persisted still in the same Loyalty of Intentions and Affections to-
 wards him, as appears in their many Messages to himself, and
 Declarations to the Kingdom.

Upon these Grounds we engaged in this CAUSE, being
 called to it by a lawful Authority; THE TWO HOUSES OF
 PARLIAMENT, BEING THE ORDINANCE OF GOD
 UNTO THIS NATION, FOR THE PREVENTING OF
 TYRANNY, AND THE REGULATING OF THE EX-
 ORBITANCIES OF REGAL POWER; and being convinced
 in our Judgments, both of the Equity and Necessity of THE
 PARLIAMENT'S DEFENSIVE ARMS, &c.

WE APPEAL TO GOD the Searcher of all Hearts, to
 whom we must give an Account of all our Ways, THAT
 THESE WERE THE GROUNDS OF OUR FIRST EN-
 GAGEMENT.

Now, Sir, to look back to your Defence of the King; I find
 you frequently glorying in his Majesty's oft-repeated Gracious
 Messages,

Messagers, Offers, Proposals and Condescensions for Peace; and in relation to the Department of the Parliament, you thus express your poor Judgment. I cannot but persuade my self, they were resolved, to continue the War, and engross all into their own hands, let what would become of the King: But yet that they might pacify the Minds of a great number of the Nation, who groaned under the Miseries of the War; and began to see too much of a private Spirit under public Pretences; they consent to a Treaty at Uxbridge; they did so, and you declare that two Heads were agreed to be there debated, viz.

Pag. 17.

1. Of Religion and Church Government.

2. Of the Militia.

Now in reading the History of that Treaty, I find that a third great thing was agreed to be also debated, viz. The business of Ireland; but that being a Point which you care not to touch, I must not allow you to hide it.

To discourse a little about this Treaty; notwithstanding the King for his Credit sake, and to satisfy his own Party, weary of War, yielded to a Treaty. I cannot persuade my self but he was resolved to continue the War; and if you appear not a man of resolved Prejudices, or else of profound and stupid Ignorance, I do half think that I may bring you over to my Opinion in this matter. For to let you see what disposed him to hearken to this Treaty, take his own words in his Letter to the Queen in December 1644. I shall shew thee upon what Grounds I came to a Treaty to the end thou mayst the better understand and APPROVE of my Ways: Then know (as A CERTAIN TRUTH) that all, EVEN MY PARTY, are strongly impatient for Peace; which obliged me so much the more (as all occasions) to shew my real Intentions to Peace. — NO DANGER OF DEATH SHALL MAKE ME DO ANY THING UNWORTHY OF THY LOVE.

At the very instant of this Treaty, which was had in February 1644 the King used all imaginable means to bring not only FOREIGN FORCES, but the Irish CUT-THROATS against the Parliament; to clear up this Point, and also to evince how insincere he was in his pretended Intentions of Peace, I will briefly present to your view his under-band Transactions, as well with Foreign Princes, as those Rebels: and in the first place, I shall mind you of some Passages between Him and the Queen in relation to this and other Treaties.

In

In a Letter to her of January 9. 1644. he writes thus. The Scots Commissioners have sent to me to send a Commission to their General Assembly, WHICH I AM RESOLVED NOT TO DO; but to the end of making some use of this occasion, by sending an honest Man to London, and that I may have the more time for the making A HANDSOME NEGATIVE, I have demanded a Passport for Phil. Warwick, by whom to return my Answer.

* He had agreed to treat with them as a Parliament, the Queen upbraided him for so doing, and he thus vindicates himself.

At another time in the same Month he tells her, that as for my calling those at London * A PARLIAMENT, IF THERE HAD BEEN BUT TWO OF MY OPINION, I had not done it. THE CALLING DID NO WAYS ACKNOWLEDGE THEM TO BE A PARLIAMENT, upon which Condition and Construction I did it, and accordingly it is registered in the Council-Books.

Nothing is more evident than that the King was steered by the Queen's Counsel in the Management of this Uxbridge-Treaty, and that which you call the Church of England [THE BISHOPS] was greatly her Care. By Letter in January 1644, before the beginning of that Treaty. She instructs him not to abandon those who have served him, lest they forsake him in his need; that SHE hopes he will have a care of her and HER RELIGION: That in her Majesty's Opinion, RELIGION SHOULD BE THE LAST THING UPON WHICH HE SHOULD TREAT; for if he do agree upon Strictness against the Catholics, it would discourage them to serve him; and if afterwards there should be no Peace, he could never expect Succors either FROM IRELAND, or any other CATHOLICK PRINCE.

In another of her Letters we find her writing thus, Jan. 17. 1644. It comforts me much to see the Treaty shall be at Uxbridge. — I RECEIVED YESTERDAY LETTERS FROM THE DUKE OF LORRAIN, WHO SENDS ME WORD, IF HIS SERVICE BE AGREEABLE TO YOU, HE WILL BRING YOU 10000 MEN — ABOVE ALL have a care not to ABANDON those who have served you. AS WELL THE BISHOPS AS THE POOR CATHOLICKS.

By the King's Letters to the Queen in February, when the Treaty at Uxbridge was depending, he styles the Parliament UNREASONABLE, STUBBORN, PERFIDIOUS REBELS; presses her to hasten all possible Assistance to him, particularly that of the

the Duke of Lorrain. He tells her, that the *limited days* for treating are now almost expired, without the least Agreement upon any one Article; wherefore *I sent for enlargement of Days*, THAT THE WHOLE TREATY MAY BE LAID OPEN TO THE WORLD; and I ASSURE THEE THOU NEEDEST NOT DOUBT THE ISSUE OF THIS TREATY; for MY COMMISSIONERS ARE SO WELL CHOSEN, (*tho I say it*) that they will neither be threatened nor disputed from the Grounds I have given them, which (*upon my word*) IS ACCORDING TO THE LITTLE NOTE THOU SO WELL REMEMBERS.—Be confident that in making Peace I shall ever shew my CONSTANCY IN ADHERING TO BISHOPS, AND ALL OUR FRIENDS, and not forget to put a short Period to this perpetual Parliament.

We find him in another Letter dated the 5th of March, expressing himself in these words: *I have thought of one means more to furnish thee with for my Assistance, than hitherto thou hast had; it is, that I GIVE THEE POWER TO PROMISE IN MY NAME, THAT I will* take away all the Penal Laws against the Roman Catholics in England, as soon as God shall enable me to do it.*

Another Letter to her of the 20th of March, hath this Expression, *I find that Thou much mistakes Me concerning Ireland; I DESIRE NOTHING MORE THAN A PEACE there, and never forbade thy Commerce there.*

* If this were so good a King, VVhy so much Clamour against K. James the Second for designing the same thing?

In relation to Ireland; he wrote to the Marquess of Ormond to this effect, Jan. 7.

THE REBELS HERE have agreed to TREAT, AND MOST ASSUREDLY ONE OF THE FIRST and chief ARTICLES they will insist on will be, TO CONTINUE THE IRISH WAR, WHICH IS A POINT NOT POPULAR FOR ME TO BREAK ON; of which you are to make a double use: First, TO HASTEN WITH ALL POSSIBLE DILIGENCE THE PEACE THERE; the timely conclusion of which, will take off that Inconvenience which otherwise I may be subject to, by the refusal of that Article, upon any other Reason. Secondly, By dexterous conveying to the Irish, the Danger there may be of their total and perpetual EXCLUSION FROM THOSE FAVOURS I INTEND.

INTEND THEM, in case THE REBELS here *do not* a Peace with me.

NOT DOUBTING OF A PEACE, I must again *remem-*
 you, TO PRESS THE IRISH, for their speedy Assistance to me
 here, and their Friends in Scotland — I DESIRE that THE I-
 RISH would send as great a Body as they can, to land about Cum-
 berland, WHICH WILL PUT THOSE NORTHERN
 COUNTIES IN A BRAVE CONDITION.

Upon the 14th of January, he writes thus to the Queen; As
 for the Peace of Ireland, so show thee the Care I have had of it, and
 the Fruits I hope to receive from it, I have sent thee the last Dispatches
 I have sent concerning it. — FOR GOD'S SAKE LET NONE
 KNOW THE PARTICULARS OF MY DISPATCHES.

By another Letter, he commanded Ormond, To dispatch the Irish
 Peace out of hand; and thereby promises that the PENAL LAWS
 against Roman Catholics SHALL NOT BE PUT IN EXECU-
 TION, the Peace being made; and that when the Irish give him
 that Assistance which they have promised for the suppression of THIS
 REBELLION, then he would consent to the Repeal of them by a
 Law: and concludes, RECOMMENDING TO HIM AGAIN,
 THE SPEEDY DISPATCH OF THE PEACE OF IRELAND.

Another Letter to Ormond, upon the 27th of Feb. 1644, was,
 That HE THOUGHT HIMSELF BOUND IN CONSCI-
 ENCE not to lose that Assistance which he might hope from his I-
 RISH SUBJECTS, for such Scruples as in a less pressing condition
 might reasonably be stuck at by him, and therefore commanded him to
 conclude a Peace with the Irish, WHATSOEVER IT COST, so
 that his Protestant Subjects there might be secured, and his Regal
 Authority preserved. — If the present taking away of the Penal Laws
 against Papists will do it, (said he) I shall not think it a hard Bar-
 gain, so that freely and vigorously they engage themselves in my As-
 sistance against MY REBELS of England and Scotland, FOR
 WHICH NO CONDITIONS CAN BE TOO HARD, not
 being against Conscience or Honour.

By another Letter to the Marquess of Ormond, in the same
 Month, he writes thus; Now again I cannot but mention the Ne-
 cessity of hastening the Irish Peace, for which I hope you are already
 furnished by me with Materials sufficient. But in case (against all
 Expectation and Reason) PEACE CANNOT BE HAD UPON
 THOSE TERMS, YOU MUST NOT BY ANY MEANS
 FALL

FALL TO A NEW RUPTURE with them, but continue THE CESSATION.

He wrote to the Duke of Richmond, one of his Commissioners for the *Union* Treaty, TO REMEMBER TO CAJOLE WELL THE INDEPENDANTS AND THE SCOTS; Nay, he intrusted Secretary Nicholas to bribe the Commissioners for the Parliament, with the promise of Security, Rewards, and Places.

There was at this time high Division in London, between the Presbyterians and Independents; therefore to ruin both, by fomenting Misunderstandings between them, the Independents are to be cajoled: A thing worthy remembrance in all times.

Well, now upon the whole Matter, pray tell me ingenuously, good Doctor, Whether did the King or the Parliament more sincerely aim at the desired Peace in this Treaty? I am clearly of opinion, that he frustrated the Hopes of a happy Composition at this time; for whatever you alledg, had he used the same moderation here, and granted those things he offered to yield to afterwards, (as I may have occasion to shew you hereafter) the unhappy War had shewn an end: But though he pretended to listen to Overtures of Peace, because his own Party were weary of the War; yet he was found to use Tricks of Legerdmain; and by this, and his other Treaties, aimed only at the getting some Advantage by secret Treacheries and under-hand Dealings.

I have told you, that one of the three main Heads to be treated upon, was Ireland; That was to be anticipated and forestall'd by a Peace at any Rate so he buddled up with the Irish Rebels, ere the Treaty could begin; that he might pretend his Word and Honour past, against the popular Arguments which the Parliament might urge upon him, for the continuance of that just War. The English, during the Treaty, were called perfidious Rebels, the IRISH GOOD AND CATHOLICK SUBJECTS. He contrived how to make handsome Negatives: For fashion-sake he called the Parliament a PARLIAMENT, yet by a Jesuitical Slight, he did not acknowledge them so. He press'd earnestly for Ten thousand Lorrainers to be transported hither; and that a Body of the bloody Irish Rebels might be landed in Cumberland, delighting himself, that they would put the Northern Counties into A BRAVE CONDITION; for he well knew that they had destroyed above One hundred and forty thousand Protestants in their own Kingdom; and were therefore, without doubt, very fit Men to assist him in the maintaining THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. He boasted of

his choice of Commissioners for the Treaty, and that they would stick close to the NOTE OF INSTRUCTIONS which he and the Queen had concerted; and assured her that HE WOULD EVER SHEW HIS CONSTANT IN ADHERING TO BISHOPS AND PAPISTS. He impowered the Queen to treat with the Irish, and to give assurance, that he would take away THE PENAL LAWS against Papists in England. In fine, Nothing is more evident, than that he used Treaties, pretending Peace to no other End, than to gain Advantages that might enable him to carry on War. And methinks it should not offend you to hear what Opinion, not only a Minister, but a Martyr for Monarchy had of this King; the famous Mr. Christopher Love, who lost his Head upon Tower-hill, (which I am confident you will never do for any Cause, tho you live near it) preaching before the Parliament Commissioners at this Uxbridge-Treaty, express'd himself thus; It would search to the quick to find out WHETHER KING JAMES AND PRINCE HENRY HIS SON CAME TO A TIMELY DEATH, YE A OR NO; Some Parliaments have been but short-lived, when there was but a muttering, that enquiry should be made of their Deaths. It would search to the quick, to know, WHETHER ROCHEL, and all THE PROTESTANTS in it, were not betrayed into the hands of their Enemies, AND BY WHOM. It would go to the quick to find out WHETHER THE IRISH REBELLION was not plotted, promoted, countenanced and contrived in England, AND BY WHOM.

Now, I hope, Reverend Sir, that you will not have the face to deny, but Mr. Love was a Conscientious and Pious Divine; and I will finish this Head in telling you, (though a little out of course) that the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury and Denbigh, with the Lord Wainman, Sir Henry Kane, Mr. Pierrepont, Mr. Holles, Mr. Pridemore, Mr. St. John, Mr. Whitlock and Mr. Crew, Commissioners for the Parliament, in the Treaty we have been talking of, were (as well as you boast the Kings Commissioners to have been) Men of Honour and Honesty; Men of Fortunes and Estates, Men of great Parts and Endowments, who understood the business they went about, and were very fond of healing the Nations Breaches, and putting things into such a posture as might settle the King upon his just Rights; and the People upon their ancient Privileges:

Well,

Well, Sir, for my own Comfort, If not for yours. I purpose to trouble my self (at least at this present) with but one thing more in your Tract: You say, That the Scots, notwithstanding all their Promises and Obligations, **SELL THE KING TO THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT.** 'Tis a Divine Truth, Men are not only ignorant because they cannot, but because they will not know the Truth: And I cannot conceive that you believe what you here assert: Therefore, that my Countrey-men may be undeceived, and our Brethren of Scotland vindicated, I will set this Matter in its true Light: The King had fled to the Scottish Army at Newcastle, then in the Parliament Service and Pay: there Propositions for Peace were made unto him, which he rejected. The War being happily ended; the Parliament were in arrear to the Scots for their assistance in it, Four hundred thousand Pounds: It was agreed, that half that Sum should be presently paid; upon receipt whereof, the Scots were to deliver up (not the King, but) Berwick, Newcastle, and Carlisle to the Parliament. 'Tis far from Truth; that this was the Price of the King, for the Parliament freely granted to the Scots, that they might carry him (if they pleased) to Edinburgh: But they refused it, affirming, that by his Presence, in an unseated Nation, new Commotions might arise; They rather desired (which was also the King's desire) that he might be carried into the Southern parts of England, and live in some of his Palaces near London, which they thought more convenient for treating of a Peace: So that in all the whole Debate, they seemed to contend not who should have the King, but who should not have him. Nevertheless, to cast a slander upon both Nations, for certainly 'tis as wicked a thing to buy, as to sell such Merchandize, You, Sir, will have it, that the Scots sold him, the English bought him; but **WILFULNESS EVER WAS THE GREATEST BLINDNESS.**

Reverend Sir, I shall for the present discharge you and my self from further trouble. You think, I suppose, that you make me a very merciful Offer, That if I will repent, and do so no more, I may hope to live in Peace, and you will not further lash me with any more such Scourges, as I have been but now tortured with; but if I shall persist, and appear incorrigible, you have more Rods in Pits, and will pay me off. You have much more to say in the behalf of King Charles the First, 'tis well if you have, for I am sure, 'tis very little that you have hitherto

said] and you assure me I shall have it; and resolve, That as long as you can hold a Pen in your Hand, you will not drop his Cause. There's no Remedy then, but I must abide your Fury, for I resolve never to ask Forgiveness; and promise to do so no more: But on the contrary, to write on, as I have leisure, and you give me occasion, in the defence of the Laws and Liberties of my Country, Upon which Subject I have much more to say, and if you will not be quiet, you shall have it; I love the Cause too well to drop it, and will wear my Steel Pen to the Stumps in its defence. And,

Now seeing we are eternally to differ in this Point, I desire to settle two things with you, for the more orderly Prosecution of this dreadful War.

1. That we (as Duellists agree the length of their Weapons) may resolve how often to trouble the World with our Imperinences; I think once, or if you will have it so, twice (because there are TWOMADDING-DAYS) in a Year, may suffice.

2. That after you have fairly answer'd this and my former Letter, by falsifying (which as a Preliminary I shall expect from you) the many particular Instances I have brought to shew that your admired Prince was a Tyrant, or else to prove that they are not Acts or Evidences of Tyranny, you would then (in the further Prosecution of that Defence which you have undertaken, and indeed of Criminating one of the greatest and best deserving Parliaments that ever England saw) lay aside your loose and general way of discouraging, and come to Particulars; when you shall so proceed, and are failed of a clear Answer, then and not till then, the day will be your own. For tho' throughout your whole Discourse, which I have been examining, you Rebel-
lies the Lords and Commons, and fly in the Face of the Parliament, with the Kings gracious MESSAGES, SAYINGS, &c. Others may, upon better grounds, sum up the humble, condescending, convincing PETITIONS, MESSAGES, DECLARATIONS, &c. of the Parliament, and dash them all into your Face, than you can those Messages and Sayings of the King into the Faces of all who declare that he was a proud Nimrod, a haughty Pharaoh, in plain English, A MERCILESS TYRANT.

Lastly, To encourage you to further Conversation with me; tho' some Men are so impudent as to say that it is not Day when the Sun it self doth shine, you shall see that I am not resolved
against

against Conviction, but that being under the Command of good Manners, I rest not satisfied in the Confession which I made in the beginning of this Letter, of an Error committed in my former, in relation to the Noble Lord Conway, sometime Secretary of State to King Charles the First, but shall more fully do it in this place.

Being misguided by the Printer's Mistake in Rushworth's first Collections, from whence I took it, I was led to say in my last Year's Letter, pag. 7. That the Lord Conway said in Parliament that he never hated Popery; whereas his words were, that he ever hated it: and I have now certain ground to say, that those words were not only consonant to his Speech then made in Parliament, but agreeable to the constant Tenour of his whole Life, even unto the last Period. His Father and Mother lived and died pious Protestants; such was his Religious Lady, and such are his Grand-Children at this day.

This Lord Conway was Knighted at the taking of Cadiz in Spain, in the time of Queen Elizabeth; he was afterwards for many Years Governour of the Brill in Holland, where he and his Family lived as became zealous Protestants, and greatly beloved and esteemed by the Protestant Magistrates and Ministers of that Town.

He was greatly favoured by the never to be forgotten MOST PIOUS PRINCE HENRY.

When the Brill and other Cautionary Towns were delivered to the Dutch; upon his return into England, he was employed to Jersey to compose some Differences there, which he performed to so much Satisfaction, that the good Protestants of that Place always mentioned him with Honour.

He was then sent Ambassador to Germany in behalf of the King and Queen of Bohemia, and was very acceptable to those UNHAPPILY DESERTED Protestant Princes. Upon his return to England the Spanish Match was warmly press'd; against which he spake with so much Reason and Courage, that the Duke of Buckingham (who for particular ends, resolved to ruin that Project) introduced him as a proper Instrument for that purpose to be Principal Secretary of State.

In that Station he refused many great Gifts tendred to him by particular Persons, and 10000 l. Sterling offer'd and press'd upon him by the Spanish Ambassador.

In

In the beginning of King *Charles I.* Reign at the opening of one of those *Parliaments*, and according to the Custom then the *Holy Communion* being to be received by both Houses of *Parliament* by the *Concurrence* of some **LAUDEANS**, the **SACRAMENT** was offered to the *Lords* in *Henry the Seventh's Chappel*, **NOT IN BREAD, BUT IN WAFERS**, This *Lord Conway* was one of the *Lords* who refused the *Wafers*, and caused them to be taken away, and Bread to be brought.

* He that would not make the necessary Advances to *Rome*, was to be neither *Secretary*, nor *Minister of State* to King *Charles I.*

* Not long after *K. Charles I.* sent for the *Seals of the Secretary's Office* from him; which (as the *Lord* employed in that Message would often say) the *Lord Conway* delivered with an admirable Generosity, becoming indeed one that in that Ministry of State, had served the Publick with extraordinary Ability and Integrity, had performed many noble Offices to particular Persons, without Injury to any, and left that Place, and some others of great Profit, without one Farthing advantage to the State of his Family.

When he was upon his *Death Bed*, a *Lady* of great Wit, who was turned *Papist*, and was the Widow of a near Relation of his Lordship, very subtilly and earnestly pressed upon him concerning his *Religion*; whereupon he strengthened himself, and made full Profession of his firm Steadfastness in the *Reformed Protestant Religion*, caused the Servants to convey this *Lady* out of his House, and commanded them not to suffer any of that Religion to come to him.

And now, *Doctor*, I assure you at parting, That as fast as you shall convince me of any *Error or Mistake*, committed in my Scriblings about your *Martyr*; I shall as openly and frankly retract it, as I have now done this, which relates to my *Lord Conway*. Might I be made so happy as to find a surable return from you, and that you would give a free and impartial Liberty to the use of your own Reason, I would yet hope, that we might mutually conclude, as I now do,

Your Friend in and for the Truth,

Amsterdam, Jan. 30, 1691.

Edmund Ludlow.

FINIS

A Table of some remarkable things in this Book.

	Page		Page
K ing Charles. I. <i>seizing Popery,</i>		<i>A Synod called and dissolved by the King;</i>	
<i>and dispensing with the Laws, &c.</i>	3	<i>the Scots protest against the Dissolution,</i>	
<i>this Bishops overbid Popery, and dis-</i>		<i>and continue it.</i>	14
<i>countenanced conformable Orthodox Mi-</i>		<i>The King resolves upon a War against</i>	
<i>nisters.</i>	3	<i>Scotland:</i>	14
Montague one of his Chaplains, endeavoured to reconcile England to Rome, made a Bishop.	4	<i>That War called Bellum Episcopale.</i>	15
The King's lending Ships to the French to destroy the Protestants of Rochel.	4	<i>The Scots raise an Army.</i>	15
Ship-Money, Loan, Coat and Conduits-Money required, and the Refusers imprisoned and impress'd at Sea.	4	<i>A Pacification concluded, the King soon after burns it by the Hangman's hands.</i>	15
Archbishop Abbot suspended and confined, Bp. Williams disgraced and imprisoned.	4	<i>Scottish Commissioners sent to the King, imprisoned.</i>	16
Sir Randalph Crew Lord Chief Justice displaced.	5	<i>A Parliament called in April 1640, and dissolved.</i>	16
Tonnage and Poundage levied against Law.	5	<i>Members imprisoned.</i>	17
Earl of Bristol confined.	6	<i>Clergy and Papists contribute to a second War against Scotland.</i>	17
Earl of Arundel imprison'd.	6	<i>Sir Nicholas Raimon, Sir Stephen Soame, and other eminent Citizens imprisoned for refusing a Loan.</i>	17
Duke of Buckingham protested against the Parliament.	6	<i>The Scots possess themselves of Newcastle and Durham.</i>	17
Members of Parliament imprison'd.	6	<i>The Lords at York petition for a Parliament.</i>	18
Sir John Elliot's Death in the Tower.	7	<i>Cessation of Arms with the Scots.</i>	18
The King's threatening Speeches in Parliament.	7	<i>Parliament of Nov. 1640. summon'd.</i>	18
His Speech at the Meeting of the Parliament; Nov. 1640.	11	<i>Star-Chamber and High-Commission Courts suppress'd by Act of Parliament.</i>	21
Bishops intruded upon Scotland against their Laws.	12	<i>Poll-money granted.</i>	21
David framed a Common-Prayer for Scotland, and sent it to be approved by the Pope.	12	<i>Dr. Leighton's Enquiry in the Star-Chamber.</i>	22
The Scots protest against it.	13	<i>Mr. Pryn's, Dr. Bastwick's and Mr. Burton's Censures and horrid Oppressions by Archbishop Laud.</i>	24, 25
King James I. took the Scottish Covenant in the Year 1580.	13	<i>Those Sentences declared illegal in Parliament.</i>	27
The Scots renew'd that Covenant in the Year 1638.	13, 14	<i>Ship-Money illegal.</i>	27
The Scots require to have the Liturgy abolished, and to have a National Synod.	14	<i>Lord Keeper Finch imprison'd of High-Treason about Ship-Money, and flies.</i>	28
		<i>The many Exorbitancies and Oppressions of the Bishops.</i>	28
		<i>Twelve of them imprison'd of Treason,</i>	and

	Page		Page
and all returned from the Lords Hunt.	39	The Ordinance for raising the Army.	40
The Earl of Stafford impeached and attainted of Treason.	30	The Petition of the Parliament about King Richard the Second.	49
Bills for Triennial Parliaments, and for continuing the present Parliament, passed.	31	The Duke and Countess petition the King to visit Ireland.	50
Conspiracy to bring the Army against the Parliament dissolved.	32	The Duke, Countess, and several Nobles and knights petition him to assist.	50
The King had a Session and a half of Assembly in the first Year of the Parlia- ment 1610.	33	They petition him to return to the Par- liament.	50
The Remonstrance of the States of the Kingdom, Dec. 1641.	35	Petition of many English Freeholders of Yorkshire.	50
The Insurrections and Riots in 1641.	37	The King requires the Gentlemen, Bar- ons, and Knights of Yorkshire to assist him in Dublin.	51
An Account of the execution of these Insurrections.	41	The Lords and Commons petition the King to return to Ireland, and that it is a Breach of his Trust, and that such as will him in that War are Traitors.	51
The King arrests the Lord Mordaunt and five Members of Treason.	37	They vote the raising an Army to be commanded by the Earl of Essex.	52
He sends notice thereof to the Commons with the names of those arrested, and demands the aid of the Members.	37	Their Petition to the King to return.	52
The Commons demand a Guard.	38	The King's Speech on the death of his Army.	54
The Earl of the Earl of Montrose arrested.	38	The Petition of the Parliament sent by the Earl of Essex.	55
The King leaves White-hall.	41	The petition made at the King for War.	56
The Parliament petitioned him as Theo- cratic to return.	42	The Officers of the Army sent to assist of the Parliament War.	59
They find a Declaration in his name to New- market, saying his return, and accepting the Militia into safe hands.	43	The Duke of Albany.	61
His Answer about the Militia.	45	Heads of Letters between the King, Queen and Monarch of Ormond, about the Undertaking Treaty, and for procuring a Peace with the Irish Rebels to bring them against the Parliament.	65
His sending to the King of Denmark for aid against the Parliament.	47	The vulgar Error of the Scots calling the King a Tyrant.	67
He invited the States against them.	47	A Declaration of the Lord Conway.	69
The Queen being absent in Holland, Matters of the War recommended by the Parliament to be managed with the Militia.	47		
The Lords and Commons petition about the Militia.	49		

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REFLECTIONS

Upon the

ANSWER

To the PAPIST

Mis-represented, &c.

Directed to the

ANSWER

SIR, I have perus'd your *Answer*, and am glad to find it so moderate and calm. You make here and there some *Personal* reflections indeed; but this being done civilly, without heat and passion, I am still oblig'd to thank you, if not on my particular, yet for the Publick's sake; For having by this convinc'd the World, that men of different judgments may now treat of matters of Controversie, without making use of Satyr and Scurrility, or letting Cavil fill up the place of Judgment and Reason. This method I cannot but approve as most agreeable to Christianity; And if I pursue the same, in giving a farther explication of some most material Points, you have been pleas'd to question in my small Treatise, as also in letting you know my farther sense of Yours; I hope it may be done

A

